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OF THE WORLD

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Why Is This Woman Smiling?

EXCLUSIVE:
A POLL OF
CONSERVATIVES

Tory Front-Runner
Kim Campbell



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Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE MARCH 22 1993 \$5.00 NO. 12

CONTENTS

4 EDITORIAL

6 LETTERS

8 OPENING NOTES/PASSAGES

Although she has her liberty, Boris Yeltsin is still not entirely free; what the foreign press and about Ben Johnson; a painter ties up the market; Falling Down stands tall at the bar office.

11 COLUMN/CHARLES GORDON

12 CANADA/COVER

22 WORLD

Operation Clean Hands, Europe's biggest-ever investigation into political graft, is shaking the Italian state's foundations; Waitington reaffirms its support for President Boris Yeltsin as Russian legislators move to restrict his powers; the mass standoff at Waco revives the interest of U.S. lawmakers in gun law reform.

32 BUSINESS

Although Ottawa has decided to allow long-distance telephone companies to compete, it is still not sure how to regulate the fierce battle for subscribers that is now underway; Ptt head Rocco Kyte is fighting fire on all fronts, but he is increasingly confident that his airline will pull through.

41 BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN

42 PEOPLE

43 PROFILE

Jodi Tysh and Gordon Wilson try to prove that there is room for love in Canadian politics.

44 SPORTS

46 JUSTICE

Joe Rodriguez loses one more option in her fight for medical help in commuting suicide.

47 MEDIA WATCH/GEORGE BAIN

48 IDEAS

Nolan Chartoff offers a savage critique of former U.S. president George Bush's new world order.

50 FORBESINGHAM

COVER

WHY IS THIS WOMAN SMILING?

An exclusive Maclean's/CMR poll of Conservative party members shows that Defence Minister Kim Campbell is the runaway favorite for the Tory leadership. According to the survey, 38 per cent of the respondents favor Campbell, with Finance Minister Donald Mazankowski the second choice at eight per cent. Mazankowski said that he is reviewing his decision not to enter the race. — 13



BUSINESS

THE KING OF CABLE

Ted Rogers, who has built a \$4-billion communications empire, is at the center of a campaign by Canadian cable companies to provide viewers with 300 channels and the latest technology. But the proposal will also increase cable rates dramatically—even for those who do not use the enhanced services. — 32



SPORTS

KURT AND ELVIS: ON TOP OF THE WORLD

Canadian skaters put a disastrous 1992 competitive season behind them with a series of outstanding performances at last week's 1993 World Championships in Prague. Gold medalists Isabelle Brasseur, Lloyd Eisler (right) and Kurt Browning are the early favorites for the 1994 Winter Olympics. — 44



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A Chance For New Ideas

As this week's *Maclean's* COMPS poll shows, Debrah Minister Kim Campbell would overwhelmingly have won the Tory leadership contest if it had been held between March 1 and 4, when the questions were asked. But the convention to decide who will succeed Brian Mulroney as party leader and Prime Minister is not until mid-June, and three

months in politics is an eternity. In fairness, neither Campbell nor any other Tory had initially entered the race when the poll of party faithful was taken. Indeed, Industrial Trade Minister Michael Wilson took himself out of consideration as a candidate after the polling was complete. But Campbell, Environment Minister Jean Charest, Communications Minister Perrin Beatty and External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall are likely to announce in the near future. And Patrick Boyer, an outgoing, intelligent Toronto MP, has already entered the race.

As this week's cover package points out, Campbell is smart, thoughtful and a skilled politician. But it is a sad comment on the political system that many potential candidates are staying away from the race because they are not certain that she can be beaten. There is no better forum than a leadership contest for politicians who share a broadly similar philosophy to lay out their usually obscured differences and their different approaches to governing. It is a chance for broader debate than, while debated by definition, takes place on a higher level than arguments among leaders of fundamentally different beliefs. But there is a real danger that Canadians will be deprived of the opportunity to hear a real debate if most potential candidates decide that winning the race is the only satisfactory end to a campaign—sad that entering the market for new ideas, just for its own sake, counts for nothing.

Kim Wayne



Cover writer Anthony Wilson-Smith: there is no better forum for debate than a leadership contest

A TRIBUTE TO THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE HORSELESS CARRIAGE



From the earliest motocars to today's high performance models, automobiles have always generated a lot of interest and enthusiasm. Did you know that Canadians were building cars as far back as confederation, at that the first electric automobile in Canada, the *Peugeot* (1897), was produced in 1897?

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ANOTHER VIEW



The problem with the Tory leadership race

BY CHARLES GORDON

Worse, so far, than the spectacle of noisily ambitious Tories elbowing each other out of the way, was the spectacle of nameless media hordes crowding around every thing that looks like a candidate, crying out something that sounds like "Willys! Willys! Willys!"

Almost as bad as that were the indie analyses, the credulous backstories, the instant profiles—the net effect of it all being a complete reorientation with the race before it had even begun. It is what happens when we as the media decide that we have to tell the public everything all at once, and before we know it for certain. As always, our sense of what the public wants and needs in the way of information is so bad that we will have tried at delivering the information at precisely the time the people decide that they are ready to hear it.

This is how policy gets lost. Just when the people want to know where Candidate A stands, we will have decided that the Canadian public has had it up to here with Candidate A. Instead, we will go on with our plan, which by that time will have as donee profiles of Candidate C's policies, analyses of the color of Candidate B's campaign buttons and in-depth coverage of the convention robes.

It is what always happens, but each time it happens it seems to be worse than the last time. The improved technology at our disposal has allowed us to be stupider, faster, and on a larger scale, than ever before.

Meanwhile, there is the race, which every one is assuming will not be about policy. If everyone could be wrong. In looking at the candidates, there is the danger that we will too readily accept the line coming from the Liberals and view that Campbell, Charette, Healey et al were all present at the colonies table and therefore, all are no different from Brian Mulroney and (3) must take responsibility for all his policies, from free trade to privatisation to cutbacks.

Well, we are all grown-ups here. Do we really believe that Conservative ministers would have run howling in protest from the cabinet table whenever they disagreed with a policy? Democratic politics does not work that way. It is about compromise and trade-offs, giving on this issue and getting on the next.

Consequently, we would also be wrong to assume that the policies associated with Mulroney will automatically live on as a legacy by any of his ministers. The policies of Mulroney are not the same as the policies of Mulroney, which were not the same as the policies of Diefenbaker. Mulroney, himself, is worth remembering: against five leaders with the United States when he ran for the Tory leadership in 1982. Somehow, he evolved and somehow his successor will evolve. The trick will be for the successor to move away from the Mulroney policies without seeming to honor them. It is a trick that can be done. It has been done many times before.

The traditional way is to announce that the old policies succeeded beyond anyone's wildest dreams, and what seems to be contradictory policies now are really the old policies adapted to meet changing circumstances. There are other ways too, perhaps.

better ones, and a new breed of politicians and backroom professionals will undoubtedly find them.

Will policies matter? Those who think the candidates are all the same will say no. And recent history says so, too. In *London and Lester Meritt*, a fascinating and intelligent political book published last year, John Langabeer and Geoffrey Stevens cite the backroom politician's awareness that "policy is usually far show. It is something to put in the window while the real work goes on behind the backroom curtains."

That analysis accurately reflects the cynicism that has characterized the operation of the political process in recent years. It was not long ago, as John Seabury noted in his book *Misadventure: The Politics of Ambition*, that the future prime minister, then a candidate for the party leadership, scribbled out a nine-point constitutional program on the back of a Quebecer air sickness bag in response to criticism that he lacked a constitutional program. He later added another point to bring the number up to the requisite 10.

Still, there are signs that policy can no longer be taken as lightly, signs that the would-be Tory leaders will have to heed them to the degree to which they cynics have misread the voters. They now know all the tricks, helped by the media's newfound fascination with campaign strategy and tactics. When, for example, a party builds back its platform as if not to be stricken on it, the voters know what's going on. Thus, a tactic traditionally praised as "clever" by political press barflies, because the voters can see through it.

Conversely, a tactic usually dismissed as "risky," such as Audrey McLaughlin's release in February of a detailed NDP economic program may now win the respect of the voters, in part because they appreciate the riskiness of it.

The Tory candidates will have to get something in the window, to be sure. And not just anything. Even in these cynical times, the voters want to believe that candidates stand for something more than just power for their selves. What goes in the window need not be what Mulroney would have put in the window. The voters are smart enough to know that party policy is not forever.

In the case of Brian Mulroney, it can be argued that voter cynicism hardened on the voter. The cynical voter did not believe that Mulroney would actually do what he said he would do—such as pull in free trade and the GST that Mulroney did, proving that keeping one's promises can be as politically dangerous as breaking them.

Now, the water is short to all the trucks, wary of politicians who make promises and wary of politicians who don't. The crowd is unsettled, and the voters are capable of doing just about anything, as people like George Bush and David Perlmutter have discovered. In the absence of marginal new political tactics, there remains the straightforward expression of ideas that would be kinder actually between us. It's a strategy no enemy is likely just work.

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Why Is This Woman Smiling?

AN EXCLUSIVE POLL GIVES KIM CAMPBELL A HUGE LEAD

From his home in the sparsely populated Northern Ontario township of Ignace, Nelson Tadden has to travel 266 km east to reach what he refers to as the nearest "big city"—Thunder Bay, with a population of 110,000. But Tadden, a 38-year-old welder with no obvious family business acumen and no obvious political aspirations, is hardly anonymous in life beyond his isolated region. He says that he follows national and international events closely and that he likes to debate such topics as the merits of free trade and the effect of the Greens and Reformers on the small businesses. A committed member of the federal Progressive Conservative party, Tadden hopes to be a delegate at Jean's leadership convention in Ottawa. In the meantime, he says that he is taking "a very close look" at each of the declared and potential candidates before deciding where to throw his support. Even at this early stage, though, he says that he is particularly impressed by Defence Minister Kim Campbell. Said Tadden: "I look at Kim Campbell and I see someone with a fresh approach, national appeal and a most impressive intellect." As the findings of a Maclean's poll conducted by Ottawian-based CIM Inc. indicate, that high opinion of Campbell appears to be the overwhelming view of the majority of active Tories.

In fact, party members of both sexes and language groups say that they will support Campbell strongly. Overall, which is partly owed by the public relations firm Barman-Macvicar, specialists in conducting surveys of specific target groups, including business executives and professionals (page 140). The poll, conducted by telephone with a representative group of 408 Tories who attended a party's 1991 national policy convention, indicates that Campbell's support is now so strong among party activists that if a leadership vote had been held at the time of polling, she would likely win easily—with her first solid support almost equaling the entire lead support of all other potential candidates.

And, in the event of a second ballot pitting Campbell against three of her closest challengers—Prime Minister Donald Mazankowski, Environment Minister Jean Charest and Communications Minister Perrin Beatty—the poll indicates that Campbell would crush her opponents, winning 85 per cent of their vote. If Mazankowski stepped out of the race and External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall stepped in, Campbell's share would rise even higher—to 90 per cent, with Charest at just per

cent, Beatty at eight per cent and McDougall at three per cent. But perhaps the most significant finding, according to the president of CIM, Inc., Casual Wines, is that "there seems to be virtually no potential for Tories to peg up on an anybody-but-Campbell movement." The reason at this stage of the race, at least, she is not widely identified with any strong or proven factors. Said Wines: "She is perceived well by most Tories—even those who may not ardently support her."

These results appear to confirm the opinion of many Tory organizers—and the fears of some of them—that the words following Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Feb. 24 announcement of his planned resignation, "The 46-year-old Canadian's still-undiminished candour has already attracted so much high-level support that it has driven some potential candidates such as International Trade Minister Michael Wilson out of the race and made others wary of entering the contest. It has also led some Tories to worry openly that Canadians may lose interest in the contest."

Some party members also express fears that Campbell will not reflect traditional conservative values. Partly as a result, a group of western Tory MPs, led by Alberta backbencher Albert Cooper, has begun pressing Mazankowski to reverse his earlier announcement that he will not run. Although Mazankowski does not speak French, he is viewed as the one leadership candidate who could win significant support against Campbell outside of Quebec. Mulroney himself, apparently trying to draw as much enthusiasm for the race, said last week that no party member "should be stopped of the possibility of running because of the absence of acceptable bilingualism."

Even among undecided Tories, there is concern that Campbell's large early support will lead to overexposure and more intense scrutiny and criticism from the media. Respondent Miss Bellem, 50, of St. John's, Nfld., said that she is still undecided. She acknowledged that she might vote for Campbell, but she asked: "I would be very afraid the media would label her as proper or imprudent. It might happen that the media began to present her that way, and that would be a pity."

At the same time, Campbell and other candidates face the delicate challenge of presenting themselves as agents of political change—while still under the close scrutiny of Mulroney, who will tolerate little criticism of his government's record. At a caucus meeting last week, a strong Prime Minister named potential candidates that if they publicly criticize his policies they "lose

take it for granted that I will not be happy—and that they will have to deal with me."

Fortunately for leadership hopefuls, the Maclean's/CIMAS poll indicates that most Tories take great pride in several of the government's most significant—and controversial—achievements (page 14). There is strong support for the Free Trade Agreement with the United States and the CFT—but less enthusiasm for the government's policies towards aboriginals, gays and its emphasis on deficit reduction. Still, and Wines, the challenge for the next leader is that "Tories are proud and excited with the Mulroney government, but do not necessarily want his successor to be obviously linked to his legacy" (page 140).

That, say many Tories, is a key reason why

THE TOP FOUR

In addition to their preferred choice (left), respondents to the Maclean's/CIMAS poll were asked to name their second choice for party leader. Using that information, CIMAS president Conrad Wines calculated the results of a second ballot if the leadership contest narrowed to a race among Campbell, Mazankowski, Charest and Beatty.



Based on results from 275 respondents. Of the original 400 Conservatives in the survey, 30 per cent offered no first preference and were not asked to name a second. As well, some of those with a first preference did not identify a second choice. In a small number of cases, respondents named a second choice who was not among the top four.

National Notes

NEW AIDS FUNDING

Health Minister Dennis Boersma announced that the federal government will boost spending on AIDS education and research by 13 per cent over five years. Boersma said the government will spend \$45 million annually on the program, compared with the current level of \$37 million a year. But groups representing AIDS victims said the government should spend at least \$50 million annually—as proposed by a Commons committee.

DUPLESS 3 CHILDREN

Orphaned children in Quebec, many declared sexually incompetent, filed a \$1.5-billion class-action suit against the province and seven religious orders in Quebec Superior Court. Beginning in 1956, and throughout the 1950s, administrators of Quebec's Orphanage, Deschamps, thousands of such children were confined in orphanages and mental institutions. The suit accuses 4,800 people who also claim that they were sexually and physically abused while incarcerated.

SEX CRIME LAWS

Proposals for tough, new federal legislation that could help repeat sex offenders in prison indefinitely could be ready in three weeks, according to Solicitor General Doug Lewis.

TWO SENATORS NAMED

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney appointed Canada's ambassador to Portugal, Kenneth Macpherson, 66, as Jean-Gabriel Bessis, 50, a Quebec Liberal who served as a constitutional adviser to Quebec Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa, to the Senate. They will sit as Conservatives, bringing the total to 49 Tories, 41 Liberals and 5 Independents. Nine seats remain vacant.

CROSSBOW VIBRANT

An Ontario Court judge found Colin McGregor, 31, guilty of killing his estranged wife with a crossbow. Justice Louise Charron sentenced him to life imprisonment—such as charges of parole for 15 years—for the Nov. 13, 1991, slaying in Ottawa. McGregor had pleaded not guilty by reason of insanity.

ELIJAH HARPER'S DECISION

Elijah Harper, the former Manitoba NDP MLA who effectively killed the 1990 Meech Lake accord when he blocked the issue from being debated in the legislature, is considering jumping to the federal Liberal party. Party insiders in the government said that Harper will likely seek the Liberal nomination in the northern Manitoba riding of Churchill.

A WINNING FORMULA

THE TORIES WANT A DEBATER AND TV STAR

They are looking for someone who can lead, who will balance tradition with change and who—above all else—is capable of winning the Liberal in a general election. As Progressive Conservatives prepare for their June convention, they are seeking a leader who not only can win the election but possibly lead the party into the next century. Most of the 454 Tories interviewed for the *Maclean's* 2000 poll are clearly proud of their back-to-back successes and anguished acrobatic feats during the past 4½ years. But with Jean Chrétien's departure, the focus is on winning back voters who are disenchanted with the Conservative agenda—fewer than one in three of those polled say that it is very important that the next leader retain loyalty to Mulroney's legacy. Realpolitik Counted Wins: "These are sophisticated people. They want to get re-elected."

Fifty 64 per cent of the respondents said that they do not care if Mulroney's successor is a man or a woman. Almost half said that age is not as important as the next majority of the next majority between 40 and 55. And while relatively few of the potential delegates wanted the new leader to open the old wounds surrounding the respectful removal of abortion or capital punishment, many did favor stricter control of

Q: Should the next Conservative leader be a woman?

	Yes	No	Don't Matter
Anglophones:	8%	4%	88%
Francophones:	27%	4%	69%

immigration and more support for so-called traditional family values. But Peter Rasmussen, 55, a lawyer and accountant from Rochester, Ont., who is a father of three, "I think the family is the basic building block of society. Anything that can strengthen that promotes every other policy that the government is going to be proposing."

The Conservatives' top priority, however, is a leader who performs well on television and who can defeat Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien in debate. Said poll respondent Thelma Lefebvre, 44, secretary-treasurer of Mulroney's area Charlotte rising association in Beauport, Que.: "The television debate is very important. Whether you listen or not, when people go to the polls to cast their votes, the image of the leader is very, very important. He or she must express and present themselves well."

But Lefebvre also said that she hoped that the party's hunt for the candidate with the best TV image would not transform the race into a beauty contest. "It doesn't matter if the person is fat or thin, or tall or short," she explained. "But they must have presence and dignity. It does not take a Venus to win."

The widespread concern for image perhaps also means that Defence Minister Kim Campbell—an attractive, intelligent woman who appears poised and natural on television—is getting so much support from the party grassroots. At 44, she has twice been the most popular age bracket for a new leader—44 to 54. The economist Minister Jean Charest at 34 would be viewed by many as too young. Still, while age is not the most important factor for leadership candidates "For Charest in particular, if it is a liability, but not so guaranteeable one," he added. "People are always willing to make exceptions."

Campbell's support is strong in other areas, too. Unlike Trade Minister Michael Wilson, who has already bowed out of the race, the Defence Minister is not clearly identified in the minds of party members with the Goals and Services Tax and the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement—measures that remain unpopular with most voters. And Campbell's name came up repeatedly when potential delegates were asked to name a candidate who had good judgment, was committed to social programs, and could beat the Blue Québécois, the Reform party, the New Democrats, and the Liberals.

Although Campbell had not yet announced her candidacy or explained her policies, many of those polled said they already knew enough about her to make an informed choice. Declared Rasmussen's Rasmussen: "She is very bright, from what I understand, although I have not always agreed with her policies on social issues. There certainly does seem to be a background following her—maybe leading her."

At the same time, a majority of the respondents said that they were unconcerned about the regional origins of the new leader. Among those who did state a preference, however, most wanted someone from outside Quebec.



Ottawa winner
outing traditional
family values

While Conservatives are focused on winning the next election, they also have some definite opinions on party policy. Most do not want the next leader to impose new limits on a woman's right to an abortion or to impose the debate about capital punishment. Some Tories said that discussing an abortion subject such as abortion is too early because it could split the party when it should be united. Said Mac's Toronto 38, treasurer of Alberta's Peace River riding association: "It is a major issue which would open up problems on every side." Added Wood: "They do not really want to touch hot topics like abortion or capital punishment."

The Conservatives who participated in the survey were divided as to whether the new leader should protect social programs. Eighty-one per cent, however, want the next government to slash federal spending, and 66 per cent say that it is very important to tighten controls on immigration. Said Progressive Conservative: "Look at what happened in New York at the World Trade Center. You cannot just open the country and let everyone flow in. We should be keeping out troublemakers." Quebec's Lefebvre added: "We have to reach a balance between the protection of social programs and our economic policies." That delicate balancing act clearly will be part of a much larger challenge as the Conservatives' new leader tries to live up to the party's high expectations.

NANCY WOOD in Ottawa

Q: Should the next Conservative leader come from Quebec?

	Yes	No	Don't Matter
Anglophones:	2%	42%	56%
Francophones:	15%	25%	60%

This was true even among francophones. Said Blue-Conservative Lefebvre: "Since we have had a Quebecer leading the party for so long, I think we have to be realistic. People are looking to other regions of the country." And Lefebvre added that Quebecers in general would accept a leader from English Canada. "Of course," she said, "but we should have to speak French well. And it doesn't matter if there is an English accent."

Those polled said Campbell had the best chance of beating both the Blue Québécois and the Reform party. But respondents seemed less convinced about those two parties than about the Liberals and New Democrats. Said Doug Little, 52, a rising association director at Newfoundland's Bonaville/Trent/Conservative Reform has already spoken and is on its way down." Added Lefebvre: "I think the Blue's popularity will fade as we get closer to an election."

DEATH PENALTY SUPPORT

Percentage of Tory respondents who favor the new leader being "open to capital punishment"



ABORTION SUPPORT

Percentage of Tory respondents who favor a new abortion law



Q: Is it very important for the next leader of the Conservative party to...

Percentage saying Yes



ARTICLES OF FAITH

ON FREE TRADE, TORIES HAVE NO QUALMS

To its essence, the party's ties to the United States have been too close and its continental free trade initiatives a disaster. But to Progressive Conservatives themselves, free trade and the idea that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government has helped make the United States over the past eight and a half years are deeply intertwined. Fully 84 per cent of the Tories who took part in the Maclean's/OMNI poll list that the government's stewardship of Canada-U.S. relations was "about right," but 60 per cent of the Conservative Party's "about right" list is the one issue where the party gives the government a very good report card. This is unambiguous, clear, right between the eyes.

One of the respondents interviewed by Maclean's, retired school principal John McGibbon, 59, of Burlington, Ont., said that free trade with the United States was "necessary to bring us into the world community." Declared McGibbon, "In this day and age we have to forget some of our nationalisms—or we could end up like Yugoslavia."

While some Conservative party members expressed varying degrees of concern about the Mulroney government's management of such issues as the Constitution, aboriginals, the military, homosexual rights and family values, these surveyed by OMNI said the month previously approved of its economic policy. Seven per cent of those polled even cited the unpopular Goods and Services Tax as the Conservative government's "greatest accomplishment," although 28 per cent agreed

on the success of the government's trade policy. Free trade, at 37 per cent, topped the list while delegates were asked to assess the government's "greatest accomplishment." According to Christine West, a 45-year-old Courtenay, B.C., town councillor who also operates a marine boat business, free trade captured Canada against the latest recession. "That we not moved towards our economic goals, we would have been hit very hard indeed during this recession," she said. And support of trade policy was even higher among young Tories—those under 30—who also said ready one quarter of the 450 delegates questioned.

Only 61 per cent of youth respondents singled out the PTA as the Mulroney government's major accomplishment. "I agree, whatever the merits of the line of free trade policy," and 25-year-old Michelle Pupillie, a political science student at the University of Quebec in Montreal. According to West, young people's enthusiasm for free trade may lie in their witnessing business. Declared the pollster "This is a generation exposed to the idea of global business."

But Tories of all ages, particularly Anglophones, were more inclined to criticize the government's management of national unity and constitutional issues. Indeed, 39 per cent of Anglophone respondents said that the government was too concerned about unity and the Constitution, while only 17 per cent of Francophones left that way. Similarly, 44 per cent of Anglophone respondents said that the government should not have placed a bet too much on Quebec as Quebec's "win." "Living at the West we may feel that Quebec gets a little bit more than we do."

As well, some Tories interviewed by Maclean's felt that the referendum itself was mis-handled. "The process of getting Quebec and the referendum involved was essential," said 21-year-old Erin Ford, a political science major at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont. "But a referendum should never have happened. The question was wrong—you cannot answer any of our concerns with one word."

Francophones and Anglophones Tories also held differing views about the federal government's commitment to aboriginal people. 52 per cent of Francophones held that it was "too strong" while only 30 per cent of Anglophones held that view. And 62 per cent of Anglophones wanted their leaders to be "open" to capital punishment, while only 25 per cent of Francophones

expressed that view.

Young respondents differed significantly from older Tories in their attitudes to the Mulroney legacy. Twenty per cent of young people, compared to 16 per cent of all respondents, said that it was "not very important" that the next leader favor lower spending. And young Tories were more likely to say that the government's commitment to the poor and the unemployed has been "too weak." Said Queen's student Paul "Steve, we have to have deficit reduction, but I agree with that I would say that some support of social programs is extremely important."

Delegates without university training were more likely to feel that the government's commitment to homosexuals has been "too strong"—45 per cent compared to 36 per cent among those with university degrees.

Q: What should the Mulroney government have done differently?



* Includes complaints about the size of the tax range of items subject to GST and the timing and manner of its implementation.



RATING THE MULRONEY GOVERNMENT ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

	TOO WEAK	ABOUT RIGHT	TOO STRONG
Improving Canada-U.S. relations:	8%	84%	9%
Support for Arabs in the Arab-Israeli conflict:	54	36	10
Helping the Third World:	38	50	12
Protecting Canada's military strength:	30	56	14

Percentages may not add up to 100 because of rounding and "don't know" responses.



RATING THE MULRONEY GOVERNMENT ON DOMESTIC ISSUES

	TOO WEAK	ABOUT RIGHT	TOO STRONG
Support for native Canadians:	21%	44%	35%
Commitment to deficit reduction:	38	44	7
Concern for homosexual rights:	12	44	44
Attention to Quebec issues:	5	56	37
Help for the poor and unemployed:	23	62	15
Support for the traditional family:	34	62	5
Concern for residents become citizens:	29	62	6

Percentages may not add up to 100 because of rounding and "don't know" responses.

Percentage of Conservative respondents who said that . . .

	ANGLOPHONES	FRANCOPHONES
The Mulroney government showed too much concern for Quebec:	44%	6%
The Mulroney government's commitment to natives was too strong:	30	62
The government's military commitment was too weak:	35	12
The party's next leader should be open to capital punishment:	42	25

Respondents without degrees were also more likely to want a new leader who is open to capital punishment, an abortion law and tighter immigration controls. Said West "Delegates with greater education embrace the liberal position on these cultural and social issues."

Still, the Maclean's/OMNI poll shows a strong line of support for the fundamental building block of Tory policy—in economic matters. That support came across social and economic front and backs while for a government seeking support for trade expansion in Mexico and Latin America. "On free trade," said West of the Tories, "they are loyal to the last drop of blood." On that, as well as on other Tory articles of faith, Conservatives who support other parties remain unconvinced and, as many stated, fiercely opposed. But as they approach their party's June leadership convention, Conservatives—young and old, men and women, French- and English-speaking—are close to prepared to stay the course.

GLEN ALLAN in Ottawa

Q: What has been the Mulroney government's greatest accomplishment?



Don't know

BACKYARD CHALLENGES

CAMPBELL FACES A FIGHT AT HOME

With Stanley Park and English Bay on its borders, Vancouver Centre is one of the nation's most scenic federal ridings. In this year's federal election, it may also be one of the most politically interesting. "The incumbent, Delia Hunter-Klein, Campbell, the first woman in the Conservative leadership since Spelling split against her will be two other strong women candidates—former Olympic volleyballer Betty Baxter, 48, for the NDP and Dr. Wendy Pye, 54, a Trinidad-born family practitioner for the Liberals. A fourth woman, liberal politician Delia Rife, is seeking the Reform party nomination. Campbell's hold on the riding is less than solid in the 1988 election, she was by only 264 votes, out of 63,735 cast, over her challenger Jeanette Hunter. But many Vancouver Centre residents say that if Campbell, who celebrated her 48th birthday last week, wins the Tory leadership—and becomes the country's first woman prime minister—her chances for re-election would be greatly strengthened. "Of course people would vote for her if she becomes the Tory leader," said Doug Ellingham, 38, manager of a local hardware store. "Her being prime minister couldn't do us any harm."

Still, Campbell will have a fight as her hands. Vancouver Centre is home to one of Canada's largest—and most high-profile—gay and lesbian communities, whose leaders have vowed to assist the defence minister. Gays and lesbians make up an estimated 20 per cent of the riding's 65,900 voters. Many of them complain that she let the community down by failing to recognize homosexual marriage in proposed amendments to the Canadian Human Rights Act. "The gay issue is a big because of the nature of betrayal," says the NDP's Baxter, a lesbian activist. "The community had a commitment from the government. But there was little action on human rights issues for homosexuals when Campbell was prime minister." And Baxter, a consultant who offers businesses training on such issues as labor relations and sexual harassment, claims that the gay community's growing lack of alienation is its own failure due to free trade.

While some analysts say that Campbell may lose re-election in a safer, less volatile riding,

Campbell's constituency association executives dismiss such speculation—and predict that she will have no problems returning to Parliament. "You cannot distinguish between the candidate left for Prime Minister and the strongest left hand for Kim," says Tory staffer. Her top aide, David Camp, who worked on her unsuccessful bid for the B.C. Social

leadership in 1986 and is expected to play a key role in Campbell's leadership campaign, denies that she has ever considered running in another riding. "That never was an issue, never a possibility," says Camp, a Vancouver lawyer and son of veteran Tory insider Dallas Camp. "She loves this riding."

Certainly, Campbell's ties to Vancouver Centre—the usual a house in the riding's Burnaby-Skyline district—are strong. She lived in the city since childhood, after moving there with her family from Port Allen. A violinist at Vancouver's Prince of Wales Secondary School, she later earned a master's degree in political science from the University of British Columbia and a Canada Council research fellowship to study Soviet government at the London School of Economics. She returned to teach political science at UBC and graduated in law in 1983, three years after moving east on the Vancouver social scene.

Campbell was still writing law law essays when she decided to run for the Liberals in Vancouver Centre in the 1983 provincial elec-



The defence minister in the Commons: no problems returning to Parliament



The NDP's Baxter: "The gay issue is big because of the sense of betrayal"

tion. She lost out then because a policy adviser to then-Prime Minister Brian Mulroney stepped down in 1984, she launched an anti-lesbian campaign for the party's leadership. She finished 3rd of 32 candidates, but the outgoing Paul Goy riding, which overlaps her current federal constituency, later that year. Two years later, she switched to the Liberal Tories. Twice-elected, she is now single and has no children of her own, although she remains close to her stepchildren.

Despite her status as the clear front-runner in the Tory race, some local residents are uneasy by the talk of Campbell's move. "I wouldn't vote for her," says Lee Darius, 58, a writer who lives and works in the riding. "She jumped too quickly from provincial to federal politics, from party to party. That was opportunistic—I don't think she has the moxie to be prime minister." And Liberal candidate Pye, who has practised in the riding for 22 years, says that Campbell has alienated a lot of female voters. "A lot of women are disappointed in

Kim Campbell," says Pye, former president of the B.C. Medical Association and a member of the party's National Task Force on Women. "We suspect that her prime ministerial should do a lot about crime on the streets and she has not. All she is as a younger, female Brian Mulroney—who is carrying a lot of baggage." Adds Reform party leader Don Ivison: "I don't think her being prime minister will make much difference. The Tories are the Hungry Duncans—they break up any process. You can't put them back together again."

But even Campbell's political opponents acknowledge that she will attract more votes if she wins the Tory leadership. "If she wins the leadership, she will be close to substantial," says Victor Blackie, president of the riding's Liberal federal association. "We would be brutal for the rest of us—people would vote in mass for her as prime minister. She would need as a strident around her neck to lose." That strident, Blackie adds, may already exist: the controversial \$4.4-billion defence department deal to purchase 50 new CH-149 helicopters. "That helicopter deal could be her Achilles heel," says Blackie.

Campbell's riding association workers are certainly not taking her re-election for granted. "Our strategy does not change," says riding president Donna MacKenzie, a teacher. "People are very cynical about being merely phoned. We will ensure that her policies are clearly explained." When election day arrives, however, Campbell's prospects at Vancouver Centre might well depend on whether she is named as Prime Minister of Canada or as just another Tory cabinet minister.

JOHN HORTON is in Vancouver

A POLITICAL DOWNDRAFT

Bratling with high-tech electronics, the CH-149 is a combat pilot's dream. For Defence Minister Kim Campbell, however, Ottawa's purchase of 50 of the British- and Italian-designed helicopters may become a political nightmare. Since Ottawa announced the \$4.4-billion acquisition last July—opponents and electronics will be spread out over 15 years—opposition parties and peace advocates have attacked the choppers as unnecessary and too expensive. They stepped up their attacks last week to respond to the publicity surrounding Campbell's likely leadership bid. And representatives of several other potential leadership candidates, concerned about possible negative public reaction to the purchase, have approached the Ottawa-based Canada Centre for Global Security, seeking advice on alternatives so that their candidates can distance themselves from the issue.

Under an agreement signed on Oct. 2, 1992, Ottawa will pay Montreal-based Para-



CH-149 helicopter controversy

max Systems Inc., a subsidiary of the U.S. computer giant Unisys Corp., \$1.4 billion to develop computer and electronics systems for the helicopters. A British-Italian consortium, Plessey-Hughes SpA, will receive another \$1.4 billion to build the helicopters at its plants in both countries. The remaining \$1.6 billion will pay for a support contract and the cost of operating the CH-149s over 15 years. In return, the two firms have promised to create a total of 3,000 jobs across Canada. Of the total purchase price, Plessey-Hughes' John Paul Blackwell says, Quebec and Ontario will each receive \$400 million in contracts, while companies in Atlantic and Western Canada will share \$1.1 billion.

When the military first proposed the purchase in 1987, it was justified as a necessary Cold War measure against the potential threat from Soviet submarines. But critics say that the Soviet Union's collapse has drastically reduced that danger. And Justice Mike Doherty, president of Stronach, Langhorne Planning and Communications, said that the money should instead go to retraining peacekeepers. To deflect such criticisms, defence department officials say that the helicopters will also fly search-and-rescue missions and guard Canada's coast against illegal fishing and drug smuggling.

Campbell has reportedly stated that the new aircraft are needed to replace Canada's 20-year-old Labrador and Sea King helicopters. But according to Terry Kaul, senior analyst at the Centre for Global Security, the penalty clauses in the contracts may be so severe that it would be politically unacceptable to cancel them. As a result, Campbell is in the awkward position of having to defend a \$4.4-billion expenditure that some analysts say is no longer needed.

JOHN FINKELL


DI PIETRO

The Milan prosecutor
has become a hero
to disillusioned Italians


GRANI

The former prime minister
is the most prominent victim
of the scandal


AMORE

The resignation of his
cabinet ministers has
paralyzed his government

posing financiers courthouse. "We had no idea it would be anything like this," said Piercamillo Davigo, one of three investigators responsible for Di Pietro's team. "We discovered a very organized network of payments to all parties."

Since that breakthrough, the investigation has widened to reach the highest levels of Italian public life. The most prominent victim so far is Bettino Craxi, prime minister from 1983 to 1987 and leader of the Socialist party for 16 years. He received several official warnings that he was being investigated for alleged corruption and embezzlement, and resigned on Feb. 11. Others who have been accused or have handed a formal warning include about 125 MPs, half of Milan's city council and the chief financial officer of Fiat, Francesco Micheli. Three of Anzani's cabinet ministers resigned after being told that they are under investigation, and a fourth, Carlo Rigo di Meana, quit last week in disgust at the spreading scandal.

The crisis has produced an overwhelming consensus among Italians that their political system must fundamentally change. Hopes for change are focused on a referendum set for April 18, when voters will decide whether to scrap the proportional representation system for elections to the senate—which awards seats even to minor parties based on their share of the vote in a particular region—and replace it with a Canadian-style, winner-takes-all system. Last year, more than one million Italians signed petitions in favor of such a referendum. They were circulated by the Popular Reform Movement, a grassroots group headed by Segni, the sub-speaker. Christian Democrat who maintains that such an openly political change would create further Italian politics.

Proportional representation has produced a constellation of minority parties, guaranteeing that no one group could ever form a government on its own. In the wake of Italy's turbulent experience with Fascist rule from the mid-1930s to early 1940s, that seemed good. But in practice it meant that the Christian Democrats effectively held infinite power with Socialist support. "The system has been totally blocked," said Segni. A watershed will occur, he expected, would force the parties to reorganize into a few major groups that would alternate in power—the Liberals and Conservatives in Canada. Most analysts predict that voters will overwhelmingly approve the change, paving the way for elections under the new system by early 1994.

In the meantime, however, the revelations of corruption have undermined Anzani's already weak government and fueled protest movements from both north and south. Only a few months ago, Anzani's administration was winning high praise for its ambitious plans to cut Italy's soaring deficit, proportionately the largest among advanced European countries, and praise the public sector by cutting some social services and privatizing many state-owned enterprises. Those plans, however, have been derailed as the government struggles just to survive from week to week. The government's main advantage, say observers, is that no politician wants to face the wrath of voters in an early election—and so the opposition parties prefer to keep Anzani in office.

At the same time, anarchoist protest groups are drawing new support from the discrediting of the old system. One is *La Rile*, which started as an anti-Mafia party in Sicily but now has support in the north as well. Headed by senator Ludovico Orlando, a

senior Christian Democrat mayor of Palermo who made his name as a Mafia fighter there, *La Rile* won 15 seats in parliament last April and now campaigns as a new force for change. More threatening to the old order is the Northern League, which advocates a federal system of three republics—north, south and central. The League was born as a protest party, tapping into the rich vein of resentment felt by prosperous, efficient northerners at what they see as the corrupt, inefficient south. The fact that the corruption scandal broke out in Milan, the north's leading city, has not changed that perception. "In Milan we have just seen the first results against corruption," said Francesco Bossoni, the League's leader in the senate. "But when they go to work in the south, they will find it a much, much worse place."

That is almost certainly true. But even as they applaud the end of the system of mafia, organized graft, some Italians question whether the Milan investigations are going too far. In the present climate of suspicion, they say, every public figure who is informed that he is under investigation is automatically assumed to be guilty—and the result could be a witch hunt that would lead to further injustices. "You now have a presumption of guilt," said Luigi Spaventa, an adviser to the finance ministry. "This can get out of control." Di Pietro himself has said that there must be a political, rather than just judicial, solution—such as an amnesty for politicians who confess to corruption and quit public life. But for the moment, Italians appear to be enjoying the humbling of their second-rate rulers—and looking forward to a new system blessed of their moral excesses.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Milan

Trinity Square, London.



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RUSSIA

Down but not out

Boris Yeltsin takes his case to the people

They come from across Russia to the gilded splendor of Moscow's Grand Kremlin Palace. 1,633 members of the country's highest legislative body are voting for so anticipated showdown with President Boris Yeltsin. The legislators, a motley mixture of two-haird the pace of Russia's free market and political reforms, have been locked in a bitter power struggle with Yeltsin since last year. And the emergency session of this Congress of People's Deputies delivered on its promised political theater. The stormy four-day meeting produced two resolutions by Yeltsin, countless warnings of impending civil catastrophe from both sides and—in the end—resolution that sharply curbed the president's powers. But although the deputies overwhelmingly refused to endorse the president's call for a national referendum that would settle the dispute, the 48-year-old Russian leader defiantly pledged to hold it anyway. Weakened but not beaten, Yeltsin turned his back on the parliamentary forum to return to the political arena where he is most comfortable: in a popular crusade against the old Communist guard.

By any measure, the planned referendum is a gamble. Over the past year, Russians have grown tired of the continuing political strife and become disgruntled by their ailing economy. Even as the rhetoric inside the chamber grew more provocative, the numbers of democrats both for and against Yeltsin outside the Kremlin remained small. But his decision to hold his own referendum on April 25—a no-binding poll that will ask Russians if they want the president or parliament to hold supreme authority—has many Russians suddenly voting their that the country might change into chaos. "It could even lead to the breakup of the country," warned Rostislav Khodolov, the legislative speaker who has emerged as Yeltsin's chief opponent. And while Russians still yearn for from spinning colorful armed gangs, the confusion and monetary caused by the political battle heightened storm of street level.

Last week's events clearly unsettled other-world leaders as well. In Washington, President Bill Clinton pledged support for Yeltsin—he is scheduled to meet the Russian leader in Vancouver on April 3 and 4. Clinton also

encouraged the Group of Seven industrialized countries, which will meet in Tokyo in July, to convene an earlier meeting aimed at finding ways to shore up the Russian economy and strengthen Yeltsin's position. Russia, and the U.S. President, "can still have a bright future as part of a peaceful coalition of nations of the world and I just hope that we'll have the opportunity to do it," To calm Western fears,



Yeltsin speaking as Khodolov watches, tough talk

Yeltsin and senior Russian military officers declared that they would not give force to resolve the power struggle—although the president does appear to retain the support of both the armed forces and internal security service.

But the political victories last week went to the hardliners in the congress. Their first vote Yeltsin's economic policies, which have led to a steep decline in industrial production and soaring prices, have emboldened the reactionaries who control the legislature. After his election in June, 1995, Yeltsin assumed special decree powers, which the Congress has since contin-

ued called at every opportunity. Last week, charging that Yeltsin had misused his authority through such acts as trying to ban the Communist party, a measure that has since been overturned by the country's constitutional court, the deputies passed a harshly worded resolution that accused the president of wrecking the economy and plunging Russians into poverty. According to a resolution entitled Appeal to Russian Citizens, allowing Yeltsin to continue ruling by decree increased the risk of the country sliding back into dictatorship.

Last week's legislative measures stripped Yeltsin of most of his authority. The architect of the parliamentary assault on the president was Khodolov, a 30-year-old former economics professor who was once one of Yeltsin's closest allies. The two men stood shoulder-to-shoulder against the right-wing coup plotters who tried to seize power in August, 1993. It was Yeltsin who largely arranged Khodolov's rise to power by appointing him as his deputy. And Khodolov returned the favor by helping Yeltsin secure his presidential decree powers. But since then, their personal ambitions have turned them into rivals.

Now, as the prime mover of the anti-Yeltsin movement, Khodolov has earned fear and respect—but little affection—among deputies. For one thing, he is a Chechen, a member of a Muslim minority within Russia that wields independence for its enclave in the Caucasus mountains. In a country wracked by ethnic tensions, many Russians express hatred for Chechens, blaming them for the country's rising crime rate. But Khodolov's political skills also gain on some deputies his language is sharp—last week he referred to members of Yeltsin's cabinet as "worms"—and many of his comments towards the small number of women deputies have been scathing. But, and Boris Dementiev, one of the less than 50 women legislators, "Khodolov is rude to men and women alike."

But even Yeltsin supporters acknowledge that Khodolov had wounded the president. Mikhail Fedorov, a Yeltsin ally, said that the president's powers had been so emasculated by the congress that he had been left a mere figurehead, with a status equivalent to that of the British Queen. Still, Yeltsin is a resilient and impulsive leader who remains the most popular politician in Russia. He, too, talked tough last week, assuring members that he enjoys the support of the military. His without from congress clearly signaled the end of that long-running drama. But there is no consensus on what comes next. Said one deputy last week, "Under circumstances we live in a big concentration camp. Now we live in a human asylum."

MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow

Botafogo Beach, Rio de Janeiro



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instructor's semiautomatic pistol is only one of 68 million guns that the state's 17 million residents are known to own, a bewildering four weapons for each man, woman and child. That astounding private arsenal has been sanctioned under Texas laws that require only a valid state driver's license to purchase a gun. But enthusiasm for firepower is not universal in the Lone Star state. Dallas graphic designer Sandy Soudanian, for one, says that she wishes for "a gun-safety billboard, says that American society is in the grip of a costly and futile domestic arms race. "I buy a .38 and you get a .45," she said. "I get a semiautomatic and you buy an Uzi." But last week, against the backdrop of a tense standoff between suburbanites and a heavily armed religious public support for gun-law reform.

Not all the proposed changes pull in the same direction. In Congress, the support of President Bill Clinton has breathed new life into the so-called Brady Bill, which would oblige handgun buyers to wait five days before taking delivery of a weapon to allow time for background checks and to prevent impulse purchases. On Canada, a 28-day waiting period and police background checks are required for all gun transactions, and special permits are required for handguns.) New Jersey, meanwhile, is poised this week to restrict a ban on most semiautomatic weapons, while Arizona's governor proposed a bill limiting trigger-gun access to guns. In Texas, there are gun-related controversies before the legislature as Austin, one

accused at banning assault-type rifles and another at permitting Texans to carry hidden handguns at will. They neatly reflected a core degree of tension along the deep divide that has long existed in American society over the treasured right to bear arms. That right, enshrined in the Second Amendment to the United States Constitution, lay at the heart of the Waco confrontation. The standoff at a hotel compound belonging to the Branch Davidian sect, an offshoot of the Seventh-Day Adventists, began on Feb. 28. At the time, agents of the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) attempted to search the sect's compound for an arsenal that they suspected included assault weapons, explosives, land-granade launchers and at least one 50-caliber weapon capable of firing rounds designed to pierce light armor. Four agents

THE UNITED STATES

Faith in firearms

Texans will not be parted from their guns

*I am here and intend very well not
But the thing that I like best living here best,
Ain't the mountains or valleys,
The lake or the boat
It's having plenty of guns and something to shoot
—Texas country singer Chris Wall*

The Glock Model 22, 40-caliber semiautomatic pistol, settles into the hand with lethal ease. In the darkened firing range, the three tiny luminous dots embedded in the gun's sights for better night shooting line up on the blurred rectangle of white paper that is the target—the "intruder" for the purpose of this gun-class exercise. The shooter's index finger contracts gently on the trigger and yellow flame spits from the gun's muzzle. Recoil drives the shooter's arms awkwardly back into his shoulders, the percussive thud of the gun's discharge reverberates even his thick nose-protectors. In a matter of seconds, the shooter expends the gun's 15-round magazine into the twitching paper target. "I love the way that it feels," says suburban Dallas shooting instructor Harold Peoples of the Glock. "It is made for my hand."

Peoples's affection for his firearm is shared by millions of Americans—and confuses even



Recently federal agents in Waco (above): 'a Rambo-style assault'

Chuo District,
Tokyo.



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died when those inside the compound opened fire with at least some of those weapons; the others retreated to positions more than 200 m from the compound. But after allowing the release of 23 children and two elderly women in the days immediately following the botched raid, negotiations with self-styled prophet David Koresh, 33, and more than 100 followers began to flow.

The heated raid and its tense aftermath prompted a firestorm of criticism directed at the ATF, the U.S. agency responsible for enforcing federal gun laws. Armchair critics, who called to make live shows or write to newspaper editors, questioned why the agency had used what one Dallas letter writer, Hal Downey, called "a Renaissance assault on a religious group that had done no harm to anyone." One spokesman for the militant anti-abortion organization Operation Rescue went even further: "It is time for Christmas to ease up against the ATF," Randall Perry declared. Other critics wondered aloud why the agency had not simply arrested Koresh during one of his regular appearances from the sect's compound.

ATF spokesmen countered that their operation had been well planned, and they blamed its failure on a religious cult that the agency claimed had tipped off the sect members just minutes before the assault was unleashed. Spokesmen for the FBI, meanwhile, appeared annoyed when reporters suggested that authorities had lost control at the standoff. "We have sufficient firepower, if we choose, to



Phyllis on the firing range with Carol Stepiak, a right to life deputy force

completely neutralize this situation at any moment," special agent Ricks said on March 9. But he said other FBI spokesmen stressed repeatedly that they did not plan to assault the sect's compound a second time.

The potent combination of firearms and fire-and-brimstone faith has fueled previous violent standoffs in the United States. Several small groups of adherents of the heavily anti-

scientific Christian Identity religious sect fought pitched gun battles with authorities in Arkansas and North Dakota between 1983 and 1985, killing four law officers and three sect members, including a child. In January, 1988, a 13-day standoff between authorities and a tiny group of excommunicated Mormons in Marion, Utah, ended with a corrections officer dead. Still, a lone gunman inflicted the worst damage

in Texas's violent history in October, 1991. Unemployed sailor George Hennard, whose motive remains unknown, crashed his truck into a Lady's restaurant in Killeen, Tex., 75 km northwest of Waco, and shot 32 terrified diners before turning his gun on himself.

One of the survivors of that attack is now among the most persuasive voices arguing that Texas gun laws should be relaxed even further. On the afternoon that Hennard's truck crashed through the front window of Lady's, chiropractor Dr. Suzanne Grata was dining there with her parents. Her father died in an attempt to push the gunman her mother was the last to be killed before Hennard's suicide.

Grata, 33, blames her inability to intercept that day in her decision, several months earlier, to stop diligently carrying a concealed Smith and Wesson .38-caliber Airweight that she practiced firing regularly at a local shooting range. "I had made the idiotic decision to take my gun out of my purse," she told McClure's, "because I had become concerned about losing my chiropractic license." If she had persisted in carrying her gun in defiance of state law, Grata is convinced, "I would have been that guy away." Now, she hopes to see quick passage of a measure proposed by Fort Worth Republican state representative William Carter: it would allow her to carry a concealed handgun openly on completion of a 15-hour training course.

Illinois lawyer Harold Dutton, a Democrat who is also a state representative, considers

that proposal "a terrible idea." Dutton prefers the measure that he has been trying to win legislative approval for since 1989. It would prohibit Texans from owning any of about a dozen different types of semiautomatic rifles, including the Soviet-designed ak-47 and the Israeli Uzi. In Dutton's view, such military-style weapons have no legitimate recreational use, "unless you are attacked by a herd of deer that all beat the."

The massacre at Killeen and the Waco firefight may have changed the political climate since Dutton first proposed a ban on assault rifles. Then, critics labeled him an extremist and even "anti-Christ" for his stance. After the ATF's latest raid on Koresh's compound, however, Dutton received encouragement from Texas Gov. Ann Richards, a Democrat who even gave and says that she enjoys hunting. She told reporters: "It is time to recognize that these [assault] weapons are not something that fit into the good old Texas view of gun ownership." But as a state stung by the mythology of the gun-biting frontier, where disputes were settled mano-a-mano with the famous 45-caliber, single-action Army Colt—"the gun that was the West"—there is powerful resistance to any measure that would ban Texans from the weapons that they currently own. Even Dutton acknowledges, "You could probably more successfully take away their knives and bats and dogs, believe you'd take away their guns."

At the Dallas Trip firing range in the north Dallas suburb of Plano, seven Texans made three ranges plan last week by putting down 100 for People's three-hour introduction to handguns. "I wish I didn't have to be here," said a married woman in her mid-40s who identified herself only as Kathleen. "But in a violent society, I'm afraid, I think I have to be here." Joseph McCrory, a grandfatherly manufacturing executive, said that he and his wife, Wanda, decided to attend the course after "we were robbed twice and we had an attempted robbery two weeks ago." For his part, student court reporter Gail Elkins took evident delight in unleashing the power of a .357 snapper at the range's paper targets. "My Dad always said, 'If you're going to shoot, shoot to kill,'" she observed, grinning. "I will shoot to kill."

Several instructor and state manager Peoples. In his weekly classes, he offers his students close-up views on what he considers to be their inalienable right to own deadly force to protect themselves against violence that others seem to overwhelm the established forces of law in this country. It is a right that many Americans plainly find it more necessary now than at any time since it was enshrined in state Constitutions in 1791. But with more claims able to impose virtually that challenge even the agency mandated to keep peace areas in check, it is a right that is increasingly likely to face new tests.

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THE KING OF CABLE

TED ROGERS IS IN THE MIDDLE OF A HEATED DEBATE OVER THE FUTURE OF CANADIAN TELEVISION

Edward (Ted) Rogers, president of the largest cable television company in Canada, Rogers Communications Inc., acknowledges a little sheepishly that his viewing habits are different from those of the average Canadian, who logs 2.8 hours a week of a TV set each day. Rogers is a 59-year-old maverick who confounded his doctors by checking in with his office just three days after major heart surgery in the summer. Now, he is in the middle of a campaign to increase cable rates in order to provide the technology necessary to greatly expand the number of channels available to subscribers. But the increased subscription will not make much difference to Rogers, who each night takes home five battened hotelkeys packed with material requiring his immediate attention. He says that he watches very little television: "I watch news and business news in the morning—in the bathroom," he said. "Actually that's where I watch television the most." His second evening preference is also in character: "I like watching movies," he said, "together with lots of action."

Rogers has pursued business action reluctantly since he started his communications empire in 1955 when he was still a law student in Toronto. At that time, following the example set by his father, an early communications pioneer who in the 1930s developed the technology that allowed radio to operate in discrete electronic rather than haphazard, Rogers launched the first commercial radio station, CHLW, in Canada. Now, after more than 35 years of expanding his communications empire by adding technological innovations as they emerged, Rogers appears poised to reap the rewards of his diligent investments in radio



Rogers' technology is converging

tion, Rogers Communications is uniquely positioned to benefit from the coming convergence of the three main telecommunications tools: telephone, television and computers. Rogers says that he has always been prepared to handle on the future, even though he has brought his company close to financial collapse on several occasions, most recently just 2½ years ago.

New, Rogers, along with the rest of the Canadian cable TV industry, is seeking a 10-per-cent rate increase. The controversial increase is necessary, Rogers argued before the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) in Ottawa this month, to enable the cable companies to head off competition from the so-called distributor satellites. The distributors, which send signals directly to small home-satellite dishes, are scheduled to begin broadcasting dozens of new channels next year.

The cable companies, including Maclean Hunter Cable TV Inc., owned by the company that publishes *Maclean's*, are also seeking the cable rate increase to enable them to supply new digital compression boxes, which will greatly increase the number of cable channels available to all current subscribers to cable television services. But the latest round is the "biggest war" between Rogers and the CRTC in less-than-ideal terms. Last year, the company won its most important television court case when the regulatory body allowed United Communications Inc. to enter the long-distance telephone market. Rogers won 32 per cent of United and the CRTC's decision, in effect, gave it a stake in the last of three key segments of the telecommunications industry. In addition to owning 16 radio stations and a multilingual television station, Rogers Communications has 14 cable television systems, with 1.5-million subscribers, and it owns the country's largest cellular telephone company, with 458,000 subscribers. That combination of assets leaves

Rogers well-positioned to take advantage of the new era of so-called convergence during in the telecommunications industry.

Convergence is the industry buzzword for the gradual merger or overlap of the functions of "telephone, television and computers." Some analysts predict that ultimately there will be just one line going into each home to provide all of these functions. Others, including Rogers, disagree with the one-line view. Instead they say that each home will continue to be served by more than one wire, but the wires will overlap. In the future, they say, telephone companies will be able to supply movies, while the cable companies will be able to carry telephone calls and customers will enjoy the benefits of competition.

Regardless of how the future unfolds, however, Rogers, the king of convergence, is in a unique position to compete. "There isn't anything quite like Rogers in the United States, or anywhere else that I know of," said Ed Nease, director of the Center for Telecommunications and Information Studies at Columbia University in New York City. Of Rogers' diverse business strategy, "That's where the future is going to be: multiterminal companies that do a bit of everything," Nease added. "Furthermore, I call it a prescriptive counterattack. It is a company doesn't do it, it will be a long time before one of its competitors comes out as it is."

Rogers says that the strategy is appropriate for an industry driven by satellite technology breakthroughs that can make entire business sectors obsolete almost overnight. He describes his company's strategy as a company doesn't do it, it will be a long time before one of its competitors comes out as it is. "They are highly capital-intensive, have a high degree of technological change and a high degree of regulation," he said. Rogers has been able to see the assets from one business to expand into the next. Rogers's fibre-optic television cable, for one, is used to connect United subscribers to the long-distance lines of the telephone companies.

The convergence of technologies, and the potential for competition that it is creating, is causing adjustment problems for the old regulated monopolies, including the telephone and cable television companies as well. Even Rogers Communications, which is leading the charge into telecommunications while trying to shelter its cablevision franchise from competition, frequently finds the transition awkward. When Rogers recently addressed the CRTC about his proposed rate increase, chairman Keith Spicer could not contain his acidity at Rogers' argument. Said Spicer: "You're asking us to do so—well let's say we can't. Canadian subscribers to come up with quite a lot of money for your industry to build an infrastructure which would be used to provide a whole lot of other services that have nothing to do with that narrow public utility television, like home shopping and home banking."

Just two years ago, Rogers argued passionately before the same commission for the long-

Business Notes

A JOLE TO THE SYSTEM

In an effort to help his own mother power into and reduce its \$34-billion debt, Ontario Hydro announced the biggest sale of its 27-year history. Chairman Massimo Strati said that Canada's largest utility will eliminate 4,500 of its 53,000 jobs this year. He also said that Hydro will get off an estimated \$3 billion in repairs at the Bruce nuclear plant, allowing four reactors there to operate until regulatory says that they are no longer safe. The move is expected to ease Hydro's debt by a third over the next 10 years.

HAMMERING AT STEEL DEALS

Plans to privatize Cape Breton's Sydney Steel Corp. after 25 years of ownership by the Nova Scotia government received a blow when New York City-based Kollberg and Co. decided to proceed with a deal to buy the steel plant. Kollberg said that it had an interest because of several trade relations between Canada and the United States. Despite the uncertainty in the market, Hamilton-based Dofasco Inc. and Inco Corp. also are interested in the plant. They will share the cost of building a \$275-million steel mill in the United States. Company spokesmen did not reveal the location of the new mill, but said it will be away from the United States.

A NEW POWER ON WALL STREET

Greynorth, Costa-based Primavera Corp. struck a deal to buy American Equinox Co.'s Sherridon Lehigh River Inc. unit for \$1.3 billion, effectively putting Sherridon in financial limbo. The deal is a surprise because Sherridon was sold by its parent, Sherridon International, which was sold by its parent, Primavera, in 1981. The deal positions Primavera as the world's second largest bankruptcy company after Merrill Lynch & Co.

ENDING CREDIT FOR LOYALTY

Ontario, Ont.-based General Motors of Canada Ltd. and Toronto-based Bank introduced a new Visa credit card that is intended to help GM build customer loyalty. Customers using the GM Gold will get a credit against five per cent of their purchases, with a cap of \$15,000 over seven years, that may be used against the purchase or lease of any GM car or truck except those sold at Saturn dealerships.

EXTENSION GRANTED

An Ontario court granted Toronto-based Peoples Jewellery Ltd., which filed for bankruptcy protection last December, an extension of its deadline to file reorganization plans. Peoples, which operates 325 jewelry stores across Canada, now has 456 days to file its reorganization plan. The court also considers several purchase offers.

distance markets to be opened to competition, complying with a historical formula of the "sweet-style" monopolies enjoyed by the private telephone companies. Indeed, Rogers' loyalty at arguing either side of the competition argument is the subject of recent assessment in the industry. Saul Jan, president of Angus TeleManagement Group in Ajax, Ont.: "Ted Rogers must suffer from a bad case of cognitive dissonance." Cognitive dissonance is the term for psychological conflict that results from holding two or more incongruous beliefs simultaneously. Even Rogers acknowledges the incongruence of his position. "It's like having four children," said Rogers, who has just that number. "You tell each of them something totally different."

Despite the current conflict, Rogers' success in the highly regulated communications industry—in evidenced by his unprecedented spend on four key industry sectors regulated by the CRTC—is the result, in part, analysts say, of his ability to get along with the commission. Saul Jan says: "What Rogers is really good at is running a company in a regulated industry." And despite the rhetoric, Rogers says that he neither expects nor wants completely unregulated, free-for-all competition. "We are comfortable with regulation," said Rogers. "Without the CRTC, he added, "I would feel naked." In exchange for meeting the commission's requirements, including such things as supporting the Canadian broadcasting system, Rogers and other cable company owners are assured a return-on-assets in excess of 30 per cent, far higher than the returns earned in most unregulated industries. At these returns fall below that, they can apply for rate hikes.

The federal government's regulatory system has frequently worked to Rogers' advantage. The CRTC opened the long-distance telephone market to United in June, on terms that some analysts claim are exceptionally favorable. Saul Jan, communications analyst, who declined to speak for attribution. "Let's just say that if Tim Muloney is looking for a job, he'd better be chairman of United."

Although the analyst stressed that he was not suggesting any impropriety, he noted that Rogers' long friendship with the Prime Minister, as well as his shared political philosophy, have not harmed the entrepreneur. Indeed, Muloney and Rogers have been acquainted for 30 years, since the days when both young men were enthusiastic supporters of Conservative Prime Minister John Diefenbaker. Although Rogers supported Joe Clark rather than Muloney in the 1983 They leadership campaign, he was among the group of 30 conservative leaders Muloney invited to dinner the night before he announced his resignation from politics.

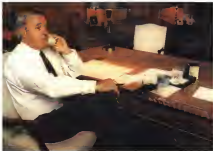
Despite Rogers' political skills, his greatest business strength is his economy and almost infallible ability to envision ways in which

to marry the latest communication technologies with the wants and needs of consumers. But when Muloney asked him to speculate about the future, Rogers dwelled instead on the state of the economy, not the wonders of technology.

Although he has spent his entire career preoccupied with communications, the sector now widely described as one of the leading growth industries of the future, he says that he is distressed by the demise of manufacturing in North America. "We need manufacturing," he said. "Manufacturing has been pretty important down through history, for creating wealth and providing a good standard of living. History shows that at the beginning of this century, everything went wrong in Britain but the goods were now produced in America." He

last for us to continue innovating and growing." Despite the lack of profit, investors have built faith in Rogers' expansion plans. They held up the share price to such an extent that one share purchased 13 years ago for \$7 is now worth \$115.

But the company's growth, financed largely by debt, has involved risk. In fact, Rogers says that the company had its third serious financial crisis just 20 years ago. "We were about eight hours away," he said. "Often these things come unexpectedly. We were going along and then all of a sudden in August, 1990, there was a tremendous slowdown in the economy. It was like going down a coal shaft." Rogers says that his partner in United, Canadian Pacific Ltd., helped out. Following that near-disaster, Rogers ordered \$3 billion worth of bank debt



Muloney: his long friendship with Rogers has not harmed the entrepreneur

added: "After two world wars and a lot of socialism, England became relatively impoverished. You can take that same analogy now and move it west. There are tremendous opportunities being made in North America today, but the main problem is being done in Asia."

Rogers predicts a rosy outlook for his own businesses. He says that Rogers Communications is finally poised to become profitable. In the past 11 years, it has reported a profit only once, in 1987. Instead, it has invested its earnings back into the company, to build its cable network and enter new businesses, including cellular telephones and long distance. But Rogers says he is changing his thrust. "We are concentrating on making the existing business profitable," he said. "We are not going into other parts of the world, we are not getting involved in new things. But on the other hand, if by the end of the decade there was a new invention, just like cellular was a new invention in the 1980s, it would be impor-

tant for us to continue innovating and growing."

By selling bonds and shares, Saul Rogers, who seems philosophical about the experience: "It seems to happen to us about once every 30 years."

For the future, Rogers shows no signs of slowing down, although he does express a desire to have the time to seek out other areas of high-tech like the engineers at Bell Labs and William Gates at Microsoft Inc. He says that he would like to spend more time thinking about the future, instead of working on day-to-day operating decisions. But he is, he says, already, who laughingly recalls the time he took her son believing that he was going on a week-long holiday by packing the contents of his five briefcases in suitcases, says that he will never retire. "His work is his hobby," she said. With a job that occasionally it is so wonder that Rogers wastes little time on television, she does not at all seem smaller than this.

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Competing channels

Regulators debate television's future

From a technical standpoint, the writing is on the wall: the scramble to protect, with dense, Throughout March, as regulatory battles raged in a fluorescent-lit public hall room in the historicist beacons of Hull, Que. At stake is the future of Canadian television, with each of the contestants pushing themselves into the spotlight. Almost all of them have passed the scrutiny of satellite "direct-to-home" transmitters, "cable" cable subscribers and "America's" viewers. Their proposed solutions are equally varied. Cable companies want billions of dollars in rate increases to compete against U.S.-based satellites that could soon be seen as up to 300 channels into Canadian homes. Canadian satellite groups, in turn, are asking for a set of rules to cable company monopolies. Telephone companies support them, and their executives claim that digital technology could make cheap video program only a phone call away. Meanwhile, broadcasters are demanding at least \$100 million a year from the cable companies to preserve their audience programming. And of the winners are vying for the favor of seven men and two women, who make up the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), seated behind a cable loaded with paper and empty coffee cups.

By the end of March, the commission may have given enough signals to bring the clouded high-tech television industry into sharper focus. The CRTC's satellite chairman, Keith Spicer, acknowledges that it is a daunting task, but one that he clearly relishes. In his opening remarks on March 1, Spicer predicted that the gathering could be "the mother of all hearings." He added, "We are entering a lively, controversial and, we hope, productive debate." But critics warn that the debate may end in a level of action of Canada's broadcast industry is to survive against a digital wave of new programs—from 24-hour Madonna or military channels to a variety of educational courses on demand.

Midway through the hearings last week, which were telecast live, debate broke loose already firmly down. Representatives of consumers, telephone companies and writers and producers called for greater competition to widen the market for programs. Cable company executives, in turn, said that Canada needs stronger regulations to protect its culture—and their markets. But an addition to reviewing the role of every participant in the industry, the commission will have to assess its own ability to enforce any rules in an era of accelerating technological change.

At the heart of these challenges is digital technology, which has already revolutionized



Mohr: a desire to bring Canadian programs to the United States

the music industry with digital recording and compact discs. In a digital system, sound or light signals are encoded as numbers that can be converted back to crystal-clear signals by special receivers. For anyone who now makes their living as television in Canada, that technology opens the door to new opportunities—as well as new threats. Cable operators say that technology will soon allow them to compete up to 30 broadcast channels on lines that now only carry one. But digital technology will also make it easier for telephone companies to transmit video images by telephone. And it has also expanded the potential for satellites to

broadcast signals directly to households. Indeed, the cable operators say that the largest unserved chunk of their industry is DirecTV, a Los Angeles-based direct broadcast satellite service that plans to launch—and eventually hundreds of channels into Canada starting in the fall. Viewers will be able to receive them through 18-inch satellite dishes that cost about \$800. Technically, putting signals with the large satellite dishes currently available on the market is simple. But operators have almost completely standardized enforcement of those restrictions. For that reason, cable company executives have advocated the satellite dishmakers that will sell both their \$1.5 billion-a-year industry and most television programs in Canada as well. Their proposed alternative is to install digital compression boxes in the homes of all of their subscribers by 2003 at a total cost of \$7.2 billion. The boxes would allow viewers to receive hundreds of channels through upgraded cable networks. About three-quarters of Canadian homes receive cable TV.

But the cable operators also argue that they have to jump along the full cost of installing that equipment to consumers. Said Roberto Delorme, president of Maclean Hunter Ltd., owner of Maclean Hunter Cable TV, one of the country's largest cable operators, and of Maclean's magazine: "There is only one person who owns the ball for any product at the end of the day. It's the consumer."

Indeed, Canada's privately owned Maclean Hunter is the only Canadian company that has a monopoly over Canada's over-the-air television services. Telewest wants to operate a Canadian satellite system with the cable companies that could provide widely distributed. "It would be a cooperative venture," said Telewest spokesman Murray

Long, adding that the satellite could reach rural areas and supplement cable services with up to 300 channels. Like the cable services, Telewest claims that U.S. competitors are driven solely by greed, have little or no interest in developing programming and would destroy the delicate fabric of Canadian culture. Long added that the commission should make it illegal for Canadian stations to sell the full spectrum needed to receive satellite signals, even if it is unable to stop those signals from being beamed into Canada.

Last week, James Burns, a DirecTV vice-president, appeared before the commission to



Spicer with CRTC member Beverly Olin. DirecTV satellite (below) dominates debate

defend his company against what he called "bureaucratic conservatism." Burns said that his satellite service will supplement, not replace, cable with paper news, movies, sports and programs including paid or public lessons. Burns predicted that DirecTV will be able to sign up about 50,000 Canadian subscribers next year and up to one million viewers within the next decade. He said that the cable industry's warnings are unfounded because "the market is driving us to have a strong chunk of our programming Canadian."

For his part, Stanley S. Mohr, a St. Paul, Minn.-based entrepreneur who plans to start up another satellite service next spring, said that satellites are not a one-way proposition. "We need to bring Canadian programs into the United States," said Mohr, whose service will concentrate on specialty channels. "This might be a disaster for cable, but it's an opportunity for broadcasters." Spicer, for his part, appeared to be sympathetic to those arguments. "None of you said like David Weber on the floor."

The cable company's proposals to restrict U.S. satellite services have also provoked protest from Canadian consumer advocacy groups. They say that monopoly cable operators have over-charged Canadians and should be forced to compete with satellite transmission or telephone companies. "The emphasis shouldn't be on protecting ourselves but on serving consumers," said Rosalie Delye, acting executive director of the Canadian Association of Consumers.

Todd said that she wants the CRTC to treat the satellite as a company for more choice and better programming—not as an excuse to further restrict the market. Added Todd: "The only thing that is being threatened in this exercise is cable's monopoly." And her Mir-

anda, spokesman for the powerful lobby group of Canada's Canadian Broadcasting, condemned the proposed cable fee increase as a "video-land" rip-off from competition that already charge inflated rates. Scott Morrison: "They are trying to scare us about direct-to-home broadcasting to get a free ride ahead on the technology race against telephone companies."

Canada's phone companies have traditionally benefited from government monopoly protection, and their representatives opposed competition in long-distance services at the

time, spokesman for the powerful lobby group of Canada's Canadian Broadcasting, condemned the proposed cable fee increase as a "video-land" rip-off from competition that already charge inflated rates. Scott Morrison: "They are trying to scare us about direct-to-home broadcasting to get a free ride ahead on the technology race against telephone companies."

Canada's phone companies have traditionally benefited from government monopoly protection, and their representatives opposed competition in long-distance services at the

CRTC just last year. But because they are eager to win a slice of the profits from television transmission, they, too, have insisted when it came to the free market. Last week, Jacobus CIMA-Ofiers, president of Ottawa-based Scotia Telecommunications Inc., which represented Canada's major provincial telephone companies, argued that broadcasters should "have the luxury of choosing the lowest-cost distributors of their programming packages." She added, "Regulators should not artificially restrict any players." Other Scotia officials told the CRTC that telephone companies would usually provide teleconferencing and training seminars for business users, with a eventual expansion into video and pay TV.

Meanwhile, broadcasters tried to shift the commission's focus from debating about delivery systems to promoting Canadian content. "They are not going to win the battle for the viewer on technology alone," said Michael McCabe, president of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters. "If people just sit and cry, they are going to switch to direct-to-home satellites." The association sought permission to start charging cable operators between \$100 million and \$200 million to carry their signals. At present, broadcasters rely on advertising contracts to purchase or produce programs that the cable companies transmit without paying royalties.

Waterbury delivery system the CRTC chooses, many of the producers, distributors and others who actually create Canadian programming say that more channels may cut into revenues from more channels or more opportunities for them. They claim that many of the channels will carry the same programs as movies or existing series, only they will be presented at staggered times. That system, known as multiplexing and it is also already available to some Canadian subscribers. Other programs will be offered on a pay-per-view basis, with costs ranging from 25 cents for an old movie series to more than \$15 for current concerts, sports matches and other special events.

In its testimony to the commission, Toronto Women in Film and Television, which includes film producers, directors, distributors, crews and entertainment lawyers, called on the CRTC to shut down cable revenues directly to independent producers. They argued that the network and cable owners also benefit profits, while the actual creators continue to have difficulty raising funds.

In a large extent, the most vulnerable participant in the hearing may be the CRTC itself. Critics say that new technology will render any form of regulation too obsolete. "Canada is not a police state," said Holbert. "If people want to receive satellite signals, they just have to have them." McCabe added that the commission would become redundant if "you just call a 1-800 number in Utah to get your services." For Morrison and many of the other 143 participants in the hearing, the CRTC's central task is to channel more funds into producing quality programs for consumers. "The choice for Canadian programs is there," said Morrison. "The choice is to ensure that viewers and listeners to see their choices in the creation of those programs." Still, technology may soon force all of those in the Canadian television industry to find for themselves.

DAVID BRADY with LOUIE FISHER in OTTAWA



BUSINESS

Hearing the wake-up

Competition may lead to a policy review

On one television channel, a number-one dinner brewer is a prime-time swing, oblivious to the civilian trust around it—and a telephone rings. On another channel, a Bell Canada telephone company works up a stack of glittering cellular cars while the telephone of a rival company simply watches. Such aggressive advertisements are just the latest sign in an increasingly heated corporate battle over Canada's lucrative long-distance telephone market. Indeed, for a sector that has been monopolized by a single, state-owned company for more than 100 years, the domestic long-distance business has undergone a dramatic transformation over the past six months.

In June, federal regulators decided to allow long-distance competition to encourage the development of technological innovation and lower prices. As a result, the uncompetitive sector has suddenly erupted with fierce rivalry, new international alliances, threats, promises and, above all,

advertising campaigns. At stake is Canada's lucrative \$7 billion long-distance market, which, until now, has been the exclusive domain of Montreal-based Bell Canada and its alliance of more-affiliated provincial telephone utilities. Said Toronto-based telecommunications consultant Ben Agnew, "The telecommunications sector has been an area of change and flux for 15 years. But I've never seen anything like this level of corporate chaos."

In the foreseeable future, neither is the pace of that change nor the ensuing chaos expected to abate. In fact, they will likely reach new levels this year as a host of leading competitors prepare to square off in the newly opened market. Already, the two largest rivals, Bell Canada and United Communications Ltd. of Toronto, have forged alliances with giant U.S. partners in a bid to introduce new services and lower prices to Canadian telephone users by mid-year. Not far behind them is a roster of smaller long-distance resellers, including

Bell's Ontario network operations center in Toronto competition

Toronto-based CallNet Communications Ltd., that are vying to swallow smaller operators, develop their own products—and offer even lower prices.

Most of this latest activity, however, is being played out in a regulatory system. While the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) has long endorsed the principle of competition, it is still unclear how the regulation of that market will evolve. Although the CRTC already has clear jurisdiction over the rules set by all Canadian telephone companies, many industry analysts say that the rapid pace of technological change and the recent introduction of competition signal the need for a more comprehensive review—and overhaul—of telecommunications regulation. Said Andrew Leitch, a law professor at the University of Toronto, "The central issue is whether we just tack on some competition or whether we completely revise the thinking on the telecommunications segment." As it stands, he noted, "we are proposing drastic change in an industry without changing its regulatory regime."

Currently, all Canadian telecommunications companies must comply with rules set out under the federal *Telephony Act* of 1986. While the Conservative government has in-

troduced draft legislation for a new telecommunications act, it has not yet proceeded beyond that initial phase. There is also a growing debate about the role of the Bureau of Competition Policy and the Competition Act in the establishment and enforcement of telecommunications policy. With regard to the recent protest, said Robert Karamy, a senior analyst with Winnipeg-based Richardson Greenhalgh of Canada Ltd., said: "If the government wants competition to stimulate customer service and innovation, it has to offer competitors to get a foothold by protecting them in first."

United is certainly not alone in expressing concern about Bell's dominance that Canada must move closer and faster to the deregulated telecommunications policies of the United States. Industry experts agree that the United States has only moved gradually towards deregulation since 1984, when the administration of Ronald Reagan ended AT&T's monopoly. At that time, other companies were protected for a set period from direct competition and, most critically, AT&T had to divest all of its local telephone assets. The famous action against AT&T occurred specifically because it was using the local telephone network to obstruct or interfere with competitors to establish themselves.

So far, Bell has not been asked to relinquish its local telephone monopoly but, according to Stansbury, if it does not cooperate with competitors and allow them direct access to its national long-distance lines within a year, that challenge may arise. "Un-

planned the creation and encouragement of market forces, instead of continuing to act as a proxy for market forces." And they must, he added, "move faster rather than slower" in that direction to ensure that Canada remains competitive in global markets.

For their part, Bell's corporate rivals, as well as Canada's biggest business customers, say that they are skeptical by the industry's strident stance. "Indirectly, they point out that Bell not only opposed the introduction of all long-distance competition, it even challenged key parts of the CRTC's ruling—unacceptable," said a federal court on October 1. The company balked at the CRTC's order that it pay 70 per cent of the cost of long-distance calls to its long-distance rivals. It also objected to the so-called discounted "contributor charges" awarded to firms, which limit the subsidy they pay from their long-distance revenues to support local services.

At the same time, United claims that competition, immediate deregulation would amount to re-monopolizing the long-dis-

tance business in Canada. Despite the fact that United plans to offer national long-distance service at rates 10 per cent lower than Bell Canada's, Richard Hurrell, a United senior vice-president, says that he remains uneasy. "Bell has an enormous advantage over everyone else," he said. "If they are allowed to entrance that without restraint they know they will naturally overwhelm any competition." And Robert Hurrell, an investment analyst with Winnipeg-based Richardson Greenhalgh of Canada Ltd., said: "If the government wants competition to stimulate customer service and innovation, it has to offer competitors to get a foothold by protecting them in first."

United is certainly not alone in expressing concern about Bell's dominance that Canada must move closer and faster to the deregulated telecommunications policies of the United States. Industry experts agree that the United States has only moved gradually towards deregulation since 1984, when the administration of Ronald Reagan ended AT&T's monopoly. At that time, other companies were protected for a set period from direct competition and, most critically, AT&T had to divest all of its local telephone assets. The famous action against AT&T occurred specifically because it was using the local telephone network to obstruct or interfere with competitors to establish themselves.

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Bell's Karamy: the industry needs a clear vision

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Another part of Bell's strategy to minimize the impact of last monopoly revenues, as outlined in its filings, is its request to the CRTC that monthly long-distance revenues to cover local telephone rates—about 10 per cent on average across Canada. Controversy has also erupted to Bell's consent proposal to expand local calling areas. Its pro-

posed "community calling scheme" would affect about 60 per cent of Bell's current customers. It would also ensure that they remain within the grip of the still-monopolized local telephone market and diminish the number of long-distance calls made in the newly competitive market.

Throughout the CRTC's extensive hearings into long-distance competition, Bell insists that loss of its monopoly would result in significant increases to local rates. Currently, it uses about \$8 billion of its long-distance revenue to cross-subsidize local service to remote and rural areas. That, according to Jeffrey Church, an assistant professor of economics at the University of Calgary, has opened the door to thinly veiled political threats. "There is a strong political push, especially in an election year, for reasonable local phone rates," said Church. Naresh Jan Nair, president and chief executive officer of Toronto's CallNet, "Bell is using leverage tactics—political and otherwise—to try to get away."

Karamy, however, said that Bell Canada is prepared to accept the reality of competition in the local market and to defend the proposed rate increases. He noted that Bell has not been allowed to increase local phone rates for 10 years and that without the subsidy from long distance, it cannot sustain a "reasonable and responsible rate of return" on investment. Karamy added that for every \$8 cents Bell earns from long-distance service, about 17 cents is spent subsidizing local service. That compares with about three cents of cross-subsidy by U.S. long-distance companies.

The fierce and complex of the fight unfolding over long-distance competition and its regulation is highlighted by the enormous long-term growth potential of the telecommunications business. According to forecasts by United, the domestic long-distance market will grow to about \$25 billion a year by 2007. And in an increasingly global economy, efficient use of current communications technology has emerged as a key competitive factor. That is why, for example, the members of the Canadian Business Telecommunications Alliance, a lobby group of 348 large businesses, "Telecommunications has become the nerve centre of the modern economy and the modern business systems have become all-encompassing."

Does Canadian banks have modernized their operations and connect their national branch networks, rely heavily on telephone lines for automated teller machines and other customer services. With their major customers now on the cables, the telephone call has clearly supplanted the telephone companies and regulators alike.

KEITH MAC MURRAY

The flying game

PWA fights on all fronts to stay aloft

The story of Bepi Elyon's life resembles the plot of an elaborate corporate soap opera. The chairman of Canada's second largest airline company, PWA Co. of Calgary, Elyon is engaged in a dramatic life-or-death struggle to save his firm and the jobs of about 16,000 workers across Canada. To accomplish that noble task Elyon will have to outmaneuver competitors, including a better-situated and larger competitor and former employer, Air Canada of Montreal. This cross-ed corporate romance, with its episodes of the two airlines approaching—and absorbing—the other, is also rife with regional political intrigue between Alberta and Quebecers. Now, while cash-strapped PWA attempts to restructure over \$3 billion in debt and to win the approval of 138 international creditors, a white knight is waiting in the wings to swoop with \$360 million and improved access to U.S. markets. But before Phoenix Canadian Airlines can fall into the arms of American Airlines Inc. of Fort Worth, Texas, it must overcome a web of obstacles, as well as a disquiet that includes concealed lawsuits and regulatory hearings. Then, Elyon will have to get the federal government's approval. As Elyon told Maclean's, "In my next life, I would have things an easier."

Despite his determination to keep PWA from becoming another corporate casualty of the recession, Elyon acknowledges that his proposed three-year survival plan is fragile. At hearings in Calgary on March 22, the National Transportation Agency will review the terms of the proposed accord with American, which includes a 25-percent equity interest in PWA. By the end of April, the federal Competition Tribunal will, on a first day between PWA and its rival, review services provided by Groups Grand Ltd. of Toronto. To meet that target for a deal, PWA has to extricate itself from a contract with Gemini so that it can switch to American's reservation system. Gemini claims that that action would strip it into bankruptcy, a charge that kind of 500 employees. In addition to the government appeal, the two sides are also locked in a separate legal dispute. At the same time, none of these obstacles is helping the confidence of creditors. "PWA is deep in it all. The question is whether that's enough," said Frederick Lurie, an investment analyst with Baring Waburg Inc. in Toronto.

Elyon is far from alone in his struggle to survive as the airline business. In 1993, the

global industry lost \$3 billion and it is still struggling with massive overcapacity. In Canada, where capacity exceeds demand by about 30 per cent, the problems of the recession have been magnified by deregulation, which was fully implemented in 1988. In the United States, deregulation in 1978 caused an upheaval in which dozens of airlines disappeared along with roughly 50,000 jobs. Today, according to Lurie, the debt of every major U.S. airline has now been devoured by speculative or se-

lous again. We all deserve better than that."

On one potentially controversial front, however, PWA has won a major battle. According to Elyon, Canada-U.S. talks on a so-called Open Skies agreement have stopped. The agreement was intended to provide a framework for open access between Canadian and U.S. airline markets. Talk, however, has been held off ever before the U.S. election last year and President Bill Clinton has not yet appointed new negotiators. While Canadian elections expected later this year, Elyon says that the talks are unlikely to resume in the near future. But he noted that Clinton's recent consideration of new free trade in the United States could help PWA. Canadian airlines have usually had higher operating costs than their U.S. counterparts because fuel taxes in Canada run at about 40 per cent, on average, than those in the U.S.



Elyon's uncertainty has been an 'emotional roller-coaster' for employees.

called job level in Canada, just as air carriers were grappling with deregulated conditions, as well as the penetration of Air Canada, the recession hit.

The predictable market anxiety between Canada's two competing airlines has taken a decidedly acrimonious twist. Instead, Elyon told Maclean's that Air Canada's lawyers are practicing the expensive court battle with Gemini, which Air Canada says is for trademark reasons, by retransmitting reception of a cash settlement. He added that Air Canada deliberately lengthened the list of names of merger talks because executives knew that it was quickly running out of cash—and options. At well, PWA remains strongly—and visibly—opposed to Air Canada's refusal to ease pressure on both companies by co-operating in the reduction of capacity. Said Elyon: "I can't figure out Air Canada out. They're not down the dead side over and that will never

As Elyon and members of his close-knit management team struggle to provide Canada's while making most operations and government presentations and attending creditors and shareholder information sessions, Elyon says that PWA's employees have been an inspiration. During the summer, the company's six unions agreed to forgo their labor contracts, taking strike salary and benefit cuts. "We've all been on an emotional roller-coaster and there were days when management felt completely overwhelmed and discouraged," Elyon told Maclean's. But he noted that the "tremendous rally" made by PWA staff has also attracted many new customers to the airline. Said Elyon: "People have been inspired by the story of our employees' sacrifices and have supported us in turn." It remains in the hands of these risk-takers, however, that the ruling corporate drama has a happy ending.

DEBORAH MCNEELY

BUSINESS WATCH



Redefining the Tory hopes and ideology

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Patrick Boyer, the MP for Toronto's Danforth/Lakeshore riding, who announced last week that he would formally declare his candidacy for the Tory leadership on March 15, has about as much chance of winning the race as Ben Johnson.

Yet, his candidacy provides the ideal opportunity to ask what conservatism in Canada is really all about, and in which direction it should evolve. A longer and philosopher who has been not just the Tory party's, but one of Parliament's, most thoughtful backbenchers since he was first elected in 1985, Boyer believes that "We're in a time of deconstruction." His shared conclusion "We are dismantling an ideological edifice and all the structures and ideas that had become important parts of it, so that reconstruction can occur among those coming parties according to a new blueprint. Our new framework requires new patterns of thinking and, among other things, a fresh appraisal of the possibilities of democratic politics."

He accurately dates this sea change from the referendum defeat of Oct. 30, noting how that dramatic "reality check" demonstrated that the people and government of Canada are no longer in phase with one another. "In that direct, popular vote on proposals to let democratically change our Constitution," he continues, "the old approach was discarded and the political reconstruction of Canada began. Canadians are changing their values, beliefs and practices as we translate from the model of a 19th-century nation-state into a new model of a 21st-century international country."

In a 34-page pamphlet titled "Democratic Conservatism: the Next Step in the Evolution of Canadian Politics," Boyer traces the evolution of his party from the "Constitutional Conservatives" of Sir John A. Macdonald to his view for what he calls the "Democratic Conservatism" of a post-McInnis game. He argues that at its core

The convention must redefine conservatism. Its survival will demand not just a new leader but a new kind of politics.

"there was an authority or substructure about the purposes of the Maloney government." In Boyer's view, Maloney "was seen by some as a Thatcherite prototype, but in fact he is perhaps closer to Macdonald in his pragmatism and his blending the gap among between French-speaking and English-speaking Canada." Yet, Boyer denies Maloney for being decidedly anti-Macdonald and most other conservatives in his view at the time. He says he has "inspired" his own cabinet opposition to conservatives.

Boyer's definition of Democratic Conservatism is a bit loose. He advances the basic principle of what he calls "the elite, top-down or intellectual conservatism, where the interests of a few are protected as the cause of the many," and its replacement with "a populist conservatism where the flow is equally from the bottom up." The idea of bottom-up empowerment the electorate is certainly alluring and necessary but it's difficult to understand why Boyer believes his party must have a monopoly on such an obvious virtue.

Sill, Boyer's messages are void and lonely, because the Tories will eventually have to confront the beast of their political apathy. In the latest of his worth reflecting how Canada's

Progressive Conservative Party—which has changed leaders 19 times and party names the three major Confederation (before the Liberals have only had nine leaders and never changed their label)—was established in the first place. The party first emerged up as an unlikely union of the (legitimately legal) British Crown worshiping Orangemen of Ontario and the ultra-biblical (pope) Catholics of Quebec—a marriage between those who were more loyal than the others and more Catholic than the Pope. It was Sir John A. Macdonald's genius to unite these disparate factions behind his modestly enthusiastic followers to establish the wonderfully named Liberal-Conservative Party, which brought about Confederation in 1867. (The Liberals evolved out of a totally different coalition. It began with clerical Quebecers who were warmly opposed to Canada's British constitution and the Crown Gods of Ontario, who if they were not anti-foreign, certainly were opposed to the Anti-Compass that had ruled Upper Canada.)

These early positions were moderated in Liberal and Conservative administrations moved in and out of power, but right now the 1990s Liberals still had to drop that they were anti-clerical in Quebec and that their new anti-biblicalism was "Sir Wilfrid Laurier's support for an independent Canada" and Maloney King's suspicion of all things British were typical of this attitude. As was Macdonald's famous 1896 campaign slogan, "A British subject I was born—A British subject I will die." Sir Robert Borden's strong provincialism stood during the First World War and Arthur Meighen's emotional cry "Ready, my ready" when England appealed to the dominions for soldiers during the Champs after 1902.

Now that Canada's internal strategy is bankrupt, it's no longer possible to differentiate the two old-line parties on the basis of their speaking habits. But historically, Canada's most successful prime ministers—especially Macdonald, Laurier and King—used the power of the stage to inspire loyalty in the nation's conservative elite. Other, less successful prime ministers limited mass intervention to a kind of negative or at least muted support for the business community. Under PM, when the Macdonald-Laurier John Dillards, the Liberal's first major success, the Liberal's spawned welfare programs, the Conservatives really were the party of big business, mostly influenced by the secondary manufacturing industries of central Ontario.

In contrast, the Liberals tended to side with primary industries, especially farmers dependent on export markets for their grain crop. The Liberals have always limited (and, unlike the Tories, they think of Canadians primarily as consumers with equal interests, rather than as producers with special and sometimes conflicting interests).

What they have in common is just not as complete, apart from picking a new prime minister, is to make for Canada's conservatism. Its survival in the 21st century will depend not just on a new leader but on a new kind of politics.

PEOPLE

A food fight

Diet and fitness guru Richard Simmons says that he knows what it is like to be a compulsive overeater. In the eighth grade, he says, he weighed 200 lb., had a 30-inch waistline and, on Saturdays, would cough the newspaper in his active New Orleans for the location of social gatherings. "I'd get all dressed up in a tux and take a bus and



Simmons: 'don't punish yourself'

go to receptions just to eat the food," Simmons recalled. "My ultimate fantasy was to go from fat misanthropic reception to wedding reception to austere reception." But since 1973, the self-proclaimed "sweat power of love" who now weighs 150 lb. and has a best-selling line of exercise videos called *Simmons to the Max*, has been trying to help others change their lives. His latest offering is *Never Give Up*, a book that chronicles the weight-loss successes of 48 individuals. "I've never told people there was going to be some quick, easy way to lose weight," said Simmons, 44. "I just said, 'Let me, like yourself, don't punish yourself—and meet your fate.'"

Bad guy to rock star

The popular CBS series *Knots Landing* wraps up its 14th—and final—season in May, but Joseph Goss, who plays heart-throb Tom Ryan, clearly has no regrets about it coming to an end. The reason: the 32-

year-old Los Angeles-based actor says that he is determined to succeed in his other career—as a rock 'n' roll singer. "I want people to take this seriously," added Goss, who plans to release his first album in the fall. "If *Knots Landing*

Goss: 'I'll take it from there'



Learning to contend—and to help

As a TV talk-show host, part of Jenny Jones' job is discussing other people's problems. But a year ago, Jones herself became the subject of media scrutiny when she told People magazine about her 11-year affair with breast implants. The London, Ont.-born former comedian, whose Chicago-produced *Jenny Jones Show* is in its second season, told *Maxwell's* that after the article appeared, she was flooded with letters from women with similar problems—engorged breasts, pain, loneliness in their breasts. "Suddenly, I was the expert," she said. "And I just didn't know how to help them." Now, Jones, 46, has created the nonprofit Image Foundation, which provides support for women with implants and helps people improve their self-images. And she clearly takes the public attention directed at her breasts in stride. Said Jones: "At one point, there was some interest in me opening for a Dolly Parton show, and I said, 'Gee, we could call it The Four Most Painless Breasts in America.'"

Back to Homefront

America cancelled the acclaimed post-Soviet *Kinofest* War drama *Homefront* in December. What Kennedy took others into her own hands. Kennedy, who plays Ruth Sloan in *Overnight*, will be making *Homefront* (she says), according to the show's critics in the U.S. group *Women for Quality Television* a scandal. "My response to *Homefront* was at odds," said the *Baywatch*, *N.Y.* native. She got her way. *Homefront* returned to air last week. Said Kennedy: "If network is going to succeed, it needs consistency as one of its hallmarks." She added that the show always enjoyed good ratings in Canada. Said Kennedy: "Canada has great taste."



Kennedy: 'not a candidate'

gets people interested, I'll take it from there." As well, Goss said, he learned a valuable lesson from playing a deviant on the show. "I learned so much about women," he explained. "Sure, women like to be treated like princesses—but not in a white fairy like to be with the bad guy."

PROFILE

'Nerds in love'

Politics makes strange relationships

In a public, she calls him Mr. Wilson. In private, she writes that he is "part of my soul," and that she is "obsessed by wanting to hold your hand, stroke your forehead and kiss you." It is Gordon Wilson, a 44-year-old former teacher who is fighting to seat his wife, B.C. Liberal leader Tynia, in his own district, "Tynia" Tynia, a 38-year-old married teacher of 13 years, formerly Wilson's high-school house teacher—and now the woman he plans to marry. Together they are at the center of one of the most bizarre political soap operas in Canadian history. Their love, they say, sprang from an attraction between two politically compatible minds. And although they fell for each other first, they claim that they have yet to consummate their relationship. "We're weird," Tynia acknowledges. "We are just two nerds in love."

That love has created a high political price. Publicly, over the relationship, Wilson is again an Opposition leader last month and all a leadership race in which he may—or may not—be a candidate. Last week, the couple endorsed on a Toronto media tour—which included a visit to Maxwell's—to explain their personal and political partnership. They call their marriage a "civilized rebellion," and say that they are not to prove that Canadians are interested in what politicians have to say about taxes, cut in their consumer-tax-and-spend private life. "The real question," declared a defiant Wilson, "is whether Canada is ready for love in politics."

With Wilson and Tynia, the political and the personal are inextricably intertwined. While in Toronto, a new union broke over the publication of a love letter that Tynia sent to Wilson on Oct. 11, 1992, just two days before Wilson's controversial decision to appoint Tynia to the cabinet post of house leader. When asked about the letter—which he said he did not receive until November—Wilson initially denied knowing anything about it, hours later he produced the original from his pocket pocket. Its existence cast a shadow over the couple's reported claim that all that they want is a mutually loving relationship. But to the couple, the letter's release was just another sign of the political and personal

forces conspiring against them. Wilson's leadership is under attack, they say, because he's backed at leading the Liberals into an alliance with Social Credit, British Columbia's other opposition party. Such a coalition, they contend, is being promoted by named interests in Vancouver who have made it clear that Wilson is too much of a wreck to withstand the required united opposition against Premier



forces. And they said that supportive calls to radio calls to Wilson have encouraged them to fight on. As a result, the couple decided they could let their love out of the closet. They announced plans to marry in soon as their divorce is final. "It has been frustrating not to be able to be together in public," Tynia said. On a recent Saturday night, they said that freedom for the first time to go dancing at a downtown Vancouver nightclub. "That was afraid that we would go and people would ask, 'Is that your daughter?'" Wilson recalled. "And she was worried that a strange guy like me wouldn't be able to dance." But when the disc jockey announced a great contest, Wilson declared happily, "This is a dance I can do." The couple was the center. But even at that setting, they could not escape their celebrity. When Wilson went to check the prize, a bottle of champagne, "the disc jockey looked at me and went, 'Hello Jason, you're Gord Wilson.'"

Tynia appears surprised about the extraordinarily public nature of their relationship, although she expressed no regret over any publicity she has received in the past. She also says that she no longer starts their days by looking at radio news. The media, she argues, are not of touch with the public. "I'm waiting for the press to make that people must stop eating to this," said Tynia, but the politics does not always show for heavy late conclusions.

Michael Baccant's NDP government. And they insist that stories about their love affair have been spread by their enemies to smear and discredit them. These enemies, they allege, include Wilson's estranged wife—he said that she may have ghostwritten and leaked Tynia's letter—and relatives of Tynia's estranged husband, Kim Jackson, who she claims have secret connections

But even Wilson acknowledges that he and his companion have benefited their party. "This letter proved that we did not have a secret relationship," he said while raising his a Toronto bar afterwards in which they headed off questions about the love letter. "But I admit that there may be a perception that we had." Wilson told Maxwell's that he should never have revealed his feelings for Tynia to his relations Liberal colleagues, who simply used the information in their campaign against him. "Gordon will be the first to admit that he has some things to learn about leadership," and Toronto lawyer Howard Levitt, a Liberal Liberal, who argued the couple through their arguments last week. That was certainly the option of none of Wilson's B.C. Liberal colleagues after the latest revelation. "He should simply resign and get out of politics," declared Liberal housing critic Art Goss. But Wilson and Tynia say that B.C. voters, not the Liberal caucus, will decide their future. And they said that supportive calls to radio calls to Wilson have encouraged them to fight on. As a result, the couple decided they could let their love out of the closet. They announced plans to marry in soon as their divorce is final. "It has been frustrating not to be able to be together in public," Tynia said.

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PHOTO WALLACE

On top of the world

Canadian skaters claim gold in Prague

When they finally came to rest following their long arenas at the World Championships last week, Canadian pairs skaters *Shelie Browner* and *Lloyd Eisler* melted into an exhausted embrace. It had been a stir-up-and-serve-wrecking performance that laid the fans at the 12,000-seat Sportovní hala in Prague, Czech Republic, on the edge of their seats for every lift, throw and take-by-side jump. It was also an intimate program, significant after an unusually difficult year. Prague was their chance to mitigate for the appointment of third-place finishers at the 1993 Winter Olympics and World Championships—and to help ease Browner's grief over the death of her father last November. Certainly, he was close to their hearts when they concluded what, ultimately, was a podium performance. As the music gave way to thunderous applause, Eisler facing his head for a second, then took Browner's hand, kissed it and said, "That's for your Dad."

By capturing the championship's first gold medal, Browner and Eisler heaped what seemed like Canada's first in Prague. Kurt Browning and Ilona Stikolnik added every skater's expectations, winning the men's gold and silver medals, respectively. In addition, Canada placed two other couples in the top 10 in pairs—Michelle Maroney of Cambridge, Ont., and Jon-Michael Bonbrander of Essex, Que., less than a year into their partnership, finished seventh, and newcomers Jodelyne Higgins of Shawville, Ont., and Sean Rice of Ontario, Ont., placed 10th. But it was Kurt and Ilona who stole the show with dramatic, spectacular free skating routines that left them both clearly ahead of a 26-man field that included Marcus Christensen of Edmonton, who placed 10th in his first World. In the women's event, Karen Preston, 31, of Massachusetts, Ont., and Josée Chouinard, 31, of Lével, Que., finished eighth and ninth, respectively. For Chouinard, sixth was a disappointment. She was 11th last year, and had placed fourth in the last program.

With the 1994 Winter Games less than a year away, the Canadians did much to ensure their reputation. And skating officials privately admitted the international judging is often biased towards programs. That seemed evident last Friday night when another Olympic rival, a slightly 16-year-old Ukrainian, won the audience's vote in the women's technical program, but was placed behind Nancy Kerrigan, the United States. Bird came back the next night, however, and



Stikolnik (left) and Browning in Prague, fulfilling expectations the hard way

won gold with the field's best artistic marks for her free dance. Erotic plying also seemed apparent when Preston finished eighth after placing seventh in both the technical and free skating. "Nancy Kerrigan did two triples and a lot of other stuff. We've got to practice that," said Preston, who landed six triples. "It's frustrating like, what can you do?"

By overreacting a disheartened 1992, Browner and Eisler led the way for the rest of the Canadian team. Eisler, 29, from

Scarfeath, Ont., had been paired with Browner, 25, from St. John's in 1988-89. One, since 1987. After winning what was the 1990 Worlds, they began to feel the weight of long experience, and succeeded in an timely rescue. That convinced them to re-design their program with an emphasis on the scenery. A post of "The gold medal is a reward for a performance that resonates everything to us," said Eisler. "We didn't skate a perfect program, but the performance we were looking for was there."

The first night of competition. The 20-year-old was more afterwards as his marks were announced, he stared at the scoreboard, the rapid flashes of his face strongly said. Things got worse later that evening when Stikolnik fell off while exiting the rink at a Prague restaurant. His partner, Kurt Browning, of St. John's, had to help him walk back to his hotel where he was confined to bed and treated by a team doctor. "I don't know what it was," Stikolnik said the next day. "Maybe the stress—it gets pretty stressful out there."

But Stikolnik's solo debut from Dan Jackson, the first Canadian to win a world men's title, in Prague in 1992. Jackson, who attended this year's championships as a guest of the organizers, reminded Stikolnik that he too had placed fifth after his short program and still rebounded with a winning free skate. So Stikolnik set his sights on when "I got a little angry with myself and I said, 'Geez, this is not the place to be doing this. You've got to go out there and deliver yourself and you've got to do it now.'"

He did, by performing the men's most difficult routine with remarkable ease. Stikolnik landed every one of his eight triples, and completing a difficult triple Axel triple toe loop combination. "Each element was really clear-cut," said his coach, Doug Leigh. "It was really first class all the way." On technical merit alone, Stikolnik had won the day. But technique is only one part of how the sport is judged, and the judges gave him credit for his artistic interpretation.

Not so with Browning. The 26-year-old Cambridge, Mass., native took what he had learned from winning three previous world titles and produced four and a half minutes of theatre on ice. A superb technician in his own right, Browning is also an accomplished showman. At his best, he can be Fred Astaire in a field of Fred McMurmys. Standing to the theme of the movie classic *Casablanca*, Browning became Bogie, striding through the mysterious back streets of wartime Morocco in a polka-dot-tinted tuxedo, that was a considerable stretch—quite a bit for these willing to accept a Bogie who did triple Axels and combination jumps. But the audience was swept along by the tale, and when the music died, many had called for him to play it again.

Like Browner and Eisler, Browning had something to prove in Prague. A lower back injury curtailed his training before the 1992 Winter Olympics and the pain faded throughout the Games. The defending World champion finished with



Chouinard on ice at the 1994 Olympics

But he decided to hang on for next February's Winter Games in Lillehammer, Norway. There was no guarantee that he would be able to secure his 1993 gold medal. In fact, he lost his last three weeks before the Worlds that left him unable to practice some jumps. "I looked around all work and saw what everybody was doing and I knew I hadn't been able to train to this technical level of skating," said an elated Browning after

the medal ceremony. "So it was important to make sure that this program was the best skated program out there tonight."

Many of the Canadian skaters finished well back of the medalists, but still considered Prague a success. Sharon-Lyon Bourne, 17, of Chatham, Ont., and Victoria Kostner, 21, of Quebec-River, B.C., said that they were pleased with their 14th-place finish as ice dancing. The pair have been skating together for only a year, and the Worlds were their first major international competition. And Preston, despite her placement, was happy with her performance. "Last year at the Olympics, I only tried six triples and this year I landed the technical difficulty by putting two triples back to back at the 3:45 mark," said Preston. "So, the story couldn't show I've improved."

With the medals still shining around their necks, the skaters were already setting their sights on the 1994 Winter Olympics. Traditionally, they would judge the competition in the World Championships—but the 1994 Winter Games will allow some professionals to compete. Nevertheless, skating experts view the return of professionals with suspicion, and suggest that few have stayed fit enough to compete at the Olympic level. And according to former Canadian ice dancer Tracy Wilson, currently a CBS skating analyst, the performances at Prague could dent many skaters' confidence. "I think the Ukrainian skater Viktor Petukhov, the 1992 World and Olympic champion

on who is contributing a comeback. She added: "The performance that was Petrov's the Olympics wouldn't have cut it at Prague." Browning said that, having lost to Lieberman, the Canadians will remain the favorites. And Wilson says that as seasoned competitors, most are likely to with in the face of pressure. Even Browning seems to have melted. "This is a guy who has had his life as a yodeler," Wilson said. "The skater who has been in Switzerland and he has scared the daylight out of me with the crazy stunts he pulls. But now he's starting to learn what his body can and cannot do."

Browning admits that the rigors of training and competition have taken their toll, but he is not about to back down. "Strike won't let him. 'Now every time we get on the ice together, it is going to cause a stir,' Browning said. In the immediate future, they will be competing at the 1994 North American team of St. John's. But in 1994, they will be sitting in Lillehammer. Costume fans can only hope that, this time, they play it again.



Stikolnik (left), Browning, Browner and Eisler: Canada's World

JAMES DEAN with LLOYD EISLER in Prague

Against the grain

Noam Chomsky condemns Washington's ways

He is a world-renowned scholar who has thoroughly revolutionized the field of linguistics more the appearance of his first book, *Syntactic Structures*, in 1957. And for the past 30 years, Noam Chomsky has also been engaged in another, less esoteric, revolution—on at least to start the instigator of the United States as a benevolent international policeman making the world safe for democracy. At 64, Chomsky, a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, continues to defy American foreign policy and what he sees as the collusion between the U.S. government and the media. His newly published third book, *Year 501: The Conquest Continues* (Black Box, 332 pages, \$29.95), offers a scathing critique of the new world order that former president George Bush handed down last 1991 war against Iraq—and whose roots Chomsky traces to the European led colonization of the world that began five centuries ago. But despite his profile, previous free output, Chomsky the diplomat is almost as low-profile as Chomsky the linguist. Dismissed by many mainstream commentators for his radical views, he is considered the margin of public debate in his own country.

In Canada, however, Chomsky enjoys increasing cult status. His books usually sell a respectable 5,000 copies, on average, with the demand growing. Meanwhile, in 1990, Toronto playwrights Daniel Brooks and Guillermo Verheijen his musical *The Rose Chomsky* and his play *Let's Learn*, a critically acclaimed, award-winning stage work inspired by the American flag.

And now the fall, a new 90-minute Canadian documentary, *Manufacturing Consent*, shows Chomsky and the Media, has played in school selected houses across the country. The CBC is currently negotiating with the filmmakers about airing the documentary on Newsweek or, in an alternate version, on the main network. Meanwhile, Chomsky has made major appearances at festivals

from Chicago to Sydney, Australia, and which has been taught by networks in 12 countries, recently appeared in the United States.

Five years in the making, the documentary took Peter Wintonick and Mark Achbar, partners in the Montreal film company Necessary Illusions, to 35 cities in seven countries in their quest to chronicle the ideas of the much-travelled Chomsky. Loosely paced and often playfully presented, *Manufacturing Consent* (named after a 1980 book co-written by Chomsky and his mentor professor Edward S. Herman) provides an insightful and accessible look at the ideas of a man who is both polemicist and deconstructionist. The film deals primarily with Chomsky's analysis of the American media, particularly the New York Times. Employing rarely a narrative nor face-to-face interviews with Chomsky, the film makes use of the scholar's ideas in a series of public speeches, radio and TV interviews, as well as

debates with conservative and liberal opponents. In all of these formats, Chomsky repeatedly and often quite passionately, drives home a central point: that in American society the role of the mass media, ever overwhelmingly controlled by large corporations, is to manufacture the atmosphere of consent for the continuing role of the rich and the powerful.

Since becoming publicly active as a major participant in the anti-war movement protesting U.S. involvement in Vietnam, Chomsky has long argued that what he calls "the apparatus of mass media" define the parameters of public de-

bate on issues of U.S. domestic and foreign policy. Major newspapers and network broadcasts, he says, choose what topics are covered, frame issues in certain ways and ensure that dissenting viewpoints rarely receive space. "They define them, they select, they control, they restrict," Chomsky tells a local cable TV reporter from Rochester, N.Y., in one of the documentary's only scenes

Chomsky says Chomsky's largely has been one of the most responsible of media and politics. The New York Times is a newspaper that he characterizes—sometimes too strenuously—as strictly in line with the interests of the American elite. In particular, says Chomsky, the Times unduly portrays the United States as a defender of freedom and democracy abroad—even when the evidence indicates the opposite. "The Times is a newspaper that sells readers—to this case, very privileged readers, to advertisers," Chomsky told *Maclean's*. "Despite all the claims of objectivity, it is the product of a situation in which the advertisers, the newspaper itself and the readers are all so intertwined that the system works—and that the should be vigorously defended."

Manufacturing Consent invokes Chomsky's criticism of the Times coverage of two conflicts that troubled in New York Times. Employing rarely a narrative nor face-to-face interviews with Chomsky, the film makes use of the scholar's ideas in a series of public speeches, radio and TV interviews, as well as debates with conservative and liberal opponents. In all of these formats, Chomsky repeatedly and often quite passionately, drives home a central point: that in American society the role of the mass media, ever overwhelmingly controlled by large corporations, is to manufacture the atmosphere of consent for the continuing role of the rich and the powerful.

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Manufacturing Consent: collusion with the media

long backed himself up with such facts and figures—numbers that at times threaten to drown the documentary in a pool of mind-numbing statistics. To counter that, Wintonick and Achbar employ both a dark sense of humor and a bit of sarcasm. In one scene, they pose as a local meeting, someone is making a claim that the Times was, in any case, not all indications of U.S. con-

spiracy from a story about the ABC network's current afternoon program, *Nightline*, denouncing the progress of nuclear war. Chomsky, who is consistently in the focus of the issue of debate in this country, "Grossfield says in a 1987 interview, 'are absolutely wacky.' And then Tom Wolfe clearly describes Chomsky's ideas as 'the old cabal theory, that somewhere there's a room with a bunch of conspirators sitting around and they pull the strings.' Arch Republican William F. Buckley, Jr. of the NBC series *Planet of the Apes*, says to threatening his left-wing guest. With a patently false smile posted on his face, Buckley tells Chomsky that he will 'happily join in the God-damn fact' of the scholar less his finger."

In response, Chomsky says that it is not arch conservatives who worry him the most—or who pose the greatest threat to freedom and democracy. "It is the use and abuse of the media," he says. "I can think about it how I could have put things more clearly, how I should have done things differently." Married to Carol Chomsky, who is a feminist and who is also a mother of three children, Chomsky continues to maintain a low profile of teaching linguistics and doing research at MIT. "It's at the point where not only can't I say anything about myself in a social way, but I can't even say I'm a liberal," he told *Maclean's*. "Even [President Bill] Clinton could tell himself a liberal if he wanted to get elected. You can reach a degree of ideological vagueness where being a liberal is a mere word, you know that's really a huge achievement of power for the right."

Despite his often grim perspective on the state of the world, and his generally pessimistic pronouncements in *Manufacturing Consent*, Chomsky's conclusions are not entirely bleak. In the closing pages of *Year 501*, he points to the bicentennial of the last year's celebration to mark the 50th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's maiden voyage. That lack of enthusiasm, he says, indicates a widespread discomfort with the legacy of European and American imperialism. "That the bicentennial of the old world order failed in 1992, it would have been celebrated once again as the liberation of the hemisphere," he writes. "In 1492, that was a great day. Coming out of that outlook, he told *Maclean's*: 'I don't spend a lot of time writing up what messages—I spend time on what's real and what ought to be changed. This doesn't mean I don't have hope.' Slightly, he pauses, and adds, 'The important thing is that you can choose a lot of good in this world.'"

As a disclaimer, Chomsky did become somewhat more optimistic through his articles and speeches denouncing Soviet invasion, and by helping to create the anti-war organization *Resist*. Since then, he has continued to denounce the U.S. intervention against the world, coming out as an anti-war, not all indications of U.S. con-

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VICTOR DOWEN

The *Maclean's* Best Book list now appears in *Opinion* (July 26, 1992)



The view from behind the shoulders

BY ALAN BUTTERBURNHAM

Now, Mr. Fotheringham, it certainly is preposterous to picture you perambulating down the promenade.

Elucidate precisely the specificity of the photochemical reorganization of decapitate cadherin within your cytosolic cavity.

Well, gee, I don't understand all the sudden
 excitement over Arvi Phaedra Campbell!
 Can you help?

Certainly. Anytime you have a blade with bare shoulders at March in the middle of a recession, the political blade has to be honed.

Are you kidding? Have you looked at Iran

Chetani likely³ badly needs a Chapter-2 makeover. As Dalton Camp says, he always looks like the driver of the getaway car.

Get serious. If Robert Stauffeld had been able to do back flips on a trapezoid in 1910,

Well, why doesn't Zim use her real name?

Would you like to go through like hum-berted with Awi Phaedra? Obviously, she thought her parents had come down with a

serious case of the porpoise. At the age of 12, after either reading Rudyard Kipling (1961—Kipling, not Campbell) or seeing a

Kim Novak movie, she decided on a modifier that could not only be spelled but perhaps remembered.

Yes. She says that the existence of a single female politician in Ottawa can be "unrepresentative."

Is there any way she can be stopped before she leaves town?

Certainly. If Don Matzekowski, Jean Charest, Barbara McDougall, Perrin Boudy, Raymond McKeown, Basil Brown and Rob

Yours Uncle all week next week under a com-mee cruise demanding first she go on the convention billed by her prospect name of April Blushes, there's a chance.



You're not convincing. What would be the best line of attack?

Well, there are always questions as to the limits of public curiosity. John Kennedy succumbed despite the worries of whether Amer-

icans for the first time would elect a Roman Catholic as president. Ronald Reagan became, such was the passage of time, the first

pendent who had been divorced, and at least no age worried, Pierre Trudeau was elected despite/because of being a swing.

What could the City do to help children
fight off the April Flu/Flu/Measles Epidemic?

They could try either a pulmonary transplant or an aggressive attempt to teach him to speak either English or French, at least one of the two would be warranted.

He is temporarily dumfounded. His plan to give the appearance of an honest race, thus

dominating the media agenda while he is de-ascended from his throne like the Emperor Caesar in Rome, his courtier scribe "Two dimes by half, as usual, has commented to *Sen* the Speaker Guy Charbonneau to put his business interests in Quebec to work for *l'ord* Pénard, killed my presence at a contest. There is not a single knight in Quebec had den under a rock that Senator Guy does not know the location thereof.

So what's happening?

What's happening is that Maloney, fearful of a reputation that will bore the

easily bored media, push as the party popular Mr. absolutely unimpaired from downtown Vegreville, Alta., to counter the Campbell move. And to instruct the vainglorious Charbonneau to lighten some loads to the young Charest.

It has been revealed that Avril Phanden paid her work through university by working in a Habitat parking plant in Peace River and at the Kraft plant on the mayonnaise line. How this had any effect on the race?

Certainly Raiders fans this shocking information was true: forced Mike Wynn to abandon the chair, the only response he has ever seen in his life being on the club sandwiches in his Bay Street bistro.

What does Jean Charest think about all this?

Jean Charest, aside from the fact that he

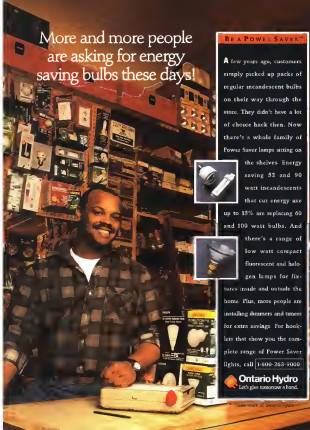
should comb his hair (this is not the Sixties, baby), is running for next time, but is pretending he is running for this time. Does he know

that Canadian voters, who have a 34-year-old sitting next to them at the office, don't really want a 34-year-old prime minister? Does he

know that Canadian voters, having prime ministers from Quebec 24 of the last 35 years, would like one from elsewhere? Yes,

It is true, as rumored, that Penthouse magazine has offered you \$50,000 if you can produce the photographs of Paul Snider.

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